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ABSTRACT

This fifth volume of a six-volume study of a school district code-named "Milford" sketches life histories and careers of the school's original faculty some 15 years after the school was founded. Section I outlines the study's problems and procedures; describes the faculty as a group of true believers initially characterized by humor, inexperience, creativity, and intelligence; and briefly considers the study's methodology and sources, which included open-ended interviews and various writings. Composed of five major subsections devoted to interpretive life history themes, section II discusses recurring themes and patterns in the educational careers of administrators and male and female teachers; examines connections between life histories and careers, and careers and belief systems; and details the "natural history" of belief systems (involving, for example, the perception of educational reform as a kind of secular religion and the maintenance of educational ideology). The final section offers summary discussions on the value of research as an innovational educational activity, unresolved issues in educational innovation, and the concept of success in the context of the Kensington experience. In order to protect the anonymity of the school district studied in such detail, pseudonyms have been used for all place names (school, school district, city, county, state) and personal names (school superintendents, school board members, teachers, students) appearing in the various volumes of this set. (JBM)

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# INNOVATION AND CHANGE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION
# KENSINGTON REVISITED: A FIFTEEN YEAR FOLLOW-UP OF AN INNOVATIVE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND ITS FACULTY

## VOLUME V

## EDUCATIONAL INNOVATORS THEN AND NOW: THE ORIGINAL FACULTY OF THE KENSINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

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# Educational Innovators Then and Now:
# The Original Faculty of
# The Kensington Elementary School

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This report is Volume V of a series from the project Innovation and Change in American Education--Kensington Revisited: A Fifteen Year Follow-Up of an Innovative Elementary School and Its Faculty supported by NIE grant #G78-0074. The analysis and interpretation represent official policy of neither the National Institute of Education nor the Milford School District.

## CONTENTS

Foreword ........................................................ i

Section I ....................................................... 1
Problems and Procedures

1. INTRODUCTION .................................................. 2
    1.1 Original Problem Statement ................................ 2
    1.2 Original Statement of Methods ............................. 4

2. THE INITIAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE FACULTY ......................... 8
    2.1 True Belief ............................................... 8
    2.2 Humor ..................................................... 9
    2.3 Inexperience .............................................. 10
    2.4 Creativity and Intelligence ............................... 14
    2.5 Summary ................................................... 14

3. METHODOLOGY: BRIEFLY CONSIDERED ................................ 16
    3.1 Restating the Problem ..................................... 16
    3.2 The Life History Vehicle .................................. 16
    3.3 Finding the People ........................................ 20
        3.31 Involvement of Participants .......................... 22
        3.32 Sequencing the Participants .......................... 24
    3.4 Interviewing .............................................. 24
        3.41 Dual Interviewing .................................... 24
        3.42 Interview Patterns ................................... 26
        3.43 Content of Interview ................................. 27
    3.5 Summary Observations and Interpretations .................. 27
    3.6 Reporting Results: Options and Dilemmas ................... 29
    3.7 Conclusion ................................................ 33

Section II ...................................................... 34
Interpretive Life History Themes

1. INTRODUCTION: THEMES AND PATTERNS .............................. 35

2. EDUCATIONAL CAREERS: PEOPLE AND POSITIONS OVER TIME .... 38
    2.1 The Three Innovative Administrators ....................... 40
        2.11 Steven Spanman: Superintendent ....................... 40
        2.12 Jerl Cohen: Milford's Curriculum Director . 59
        2.13 Eugene Shelby: Kensington's Principal ..... 64
        2.14 Tentative Conclusions ................................ 74

2.2 Kensington's Male Teachers ..... 77
  2.21 A Brief Account ..... 77
  2.22 One More Life History ..... 80
  2.23 A Provisional Interpretation ..... 90
2.3 Kensington's Female Teachers ..... 94
  2.31 A Brief Summary Account ..... 94
    2.311 Kensington's Older Female Teachers . 95
    2.312 Kensington's Younger Female Teachers 101
  2.32 Reconstruing Teaching as a Woman's Occupation and Career ..... 104
  2.33 Varied Positions Within Teaching ..... 107
    2.331 Title I Now: Varied Opportunities . 107
    2.332 Part Time Language Arts Specialist . 113
    2.333 The Lure of Teaming ..... 118
    2.334 Teaching, Subbing, and ..... 121
    2.335 The Volunteer Resolution: Offer Demands and Priorities ..... 126
    2.336 The Private School Option: Complications ..... 135
    2.337 The Socio Economic Option ..... 138
  2.34 Conclusion: What's Needed ..... 139

3. LIFE HISTORIES AND CAREERS: FRAGMENTS AND ISSUES ..... 146
  3.1 Introduction ..... 146
  3.2 Social Context of Educational Careers ..... 146
    3.21 Social Timing ..... 147
    3.22 Making Teaching Livable ..... 148
  3.3 Ph.D.'s: Programs, People, and Educational Innovation ..... 153
    3.31 The Problem: Then and Now ..... 153
    3.32 Relevancy and Irrelevancy ..... 157
    3.33 Talent, Gender, and Other Complications ..... 161
    3.34 Toward an Alternative ..... 167
  3.4 Marriage, Families, and Careers: One More Time ... 171
    3.41 Realities, Complexities, and Trade Offs: Claire Nelson's Perspective ..... 172
  3.5 Processes of Career Development of Educational Innovation ..... 182
    3.51 The Purpose of Careers ..... 182
    3.52 The Multiplicity of Educational Careers ..... 184
    3.53 The Contrast with Carlson ..... 186

4. FROM CAREERS TO BELIEF SYSTEMS: A DESCRIPTIVE VIEW ..... 189
  4.1 The Context ..... 189
  4.2 The Long First Phase of the Interview ..... 194
  4.3 Margie Thurman Arrives ..... 237
  4.4 The Morning After ..... 246
  4.5 Conclusion ..... 268

5. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF BELIEF SYSTEMS .................. 274
- 5.1 Overview .................................... 274
  - 5.11 The Conception ............................ 274
  - 5.12 Current Beliefs ........................... 277
  - 5.13 The Thread of True Belief ................. 291
- 5.2 Educational Reform As Secular Religion: The Complex Nature of Belief Systems ................ 293
  - 5.21 The Issue ................................. 293
  - 5.22 Change Churches But Keep the Faith ........ 294
  - 5.23 Content and Structure: The Transformation of Educational Beliefs ................... 303
  - 5.24 Conclusions and Implications .............. 319
- 5.3 Origins, Development, and Transformation of Belief Systems ................................ 329
  - 5.31 Early Origins: Family and Community ....... 330
  - 5.32 Professional Roots of Educational Ideology . 338
  - 5.33 Complex Transformation of Belief Systems: Reasoning Follows Intuition ............... 356
  - 5.34 The Experiential Funnel: A Model of Developmental Tasks and Belief Systems .... 364
- 5.4 You Do Go Home Again ........................ 384
  - 5.41 The Anomaly ............................... 384
  - 5.42 The Complexities of Going Home ............ 388
  - 5.43 Variations on the Theme ................... 403
  - 5.44 The Gouldian Hypothesis ................... 407
- 5.5 Belief Systems: Conclusions and Implications ..... 414
  - 5.51 Another Perspective ....................... 414
  - 5.52 Implications .............................. 416

Section III ............................................. 419

Summary, Conclusions, and Implications

1. RESEARCH AS AN INNOVATIVE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY .......... 420
- 1.1 A Point of View ................................ 420
- 1.2 Research, Theory, and the Creation of Alternatives ..................................... 422
- 1.3 On Being Teacher Educators: Audience Issues ...... 426
- 1.4 Rights of Privacy .............................. 428
- 1.5 Conclusion ..................................... 430

2. ENIGMAS: UNRESOLVED ISSUES IN EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION ... 431
- 2.1 The Domain of Educational Innovation ............. 431
- 2.2 Life History, Biography, and the Individual Personality .................................... 437
- 2.3 Schooling: The Microcosm of the Good Society ..... 446
- 2.4 Deviancy in an Innovative Organization ........... 454

2.5 Leadership, Charisma, and Participation ........... 460
    2.51 Staff Perceptions ......................... 461
    2.52 Shelby on Shelby .......................... 471
    2.53 Charisma Lies in the Eyes of the Charismatics ............................ 477
2.6 Conclusion ......................................... 479

3. TOWARD A CONCLUSION: WAS KENSINGTON A SUCCESS? ......... 480
3.1 The Concept of Success ........................... 480
3.2 What Was Kensington After All ..................... 484
    3.21 The Kensington Experience: for Kay Abbot .. 484
    3.22 Other, Briefer Views ...................... 491
3.3 Conclusion ......................................... 496

4. A FINAL WORD ............................................ 498

References .............................................. 499

# Foreword

# to

# Innovation and Change in American Education
# Kensington Revisited: A 15 Year Follow-Up of An Innovative School and Its Faculty

(Smith, Dwyer, Kleine, Prunty)

This research is about innovation and change in American education. It began as Kensington Revisited: A 15 year follow-up of an innovative school and its faculty, Project G78-0074, supported by the National Institute of Education. As in most of our case study research, the initial problem was buffeted about by the reality of settings, events, and people as captured by our several modes of inquiry--participant observation, intensive open ended interviews, and the collection and analysis of multiple documents. The setting was Kensington, an elementary school built fifteen years ago as a prototypical innovative building with open space, laboratory suites instead of classrooms, a perception core instead of a library and a nerve center for the latest in technological education equipment. The people were the series of administrators, teachers, pupils, and parents who worked in, attended, or sent their children to the school. Three principals have come and gone, the fourth is in his first year. Three cadres of faculty have staffed the school. The events were the activities of those people as they built and transformed the school over the years. This story we found, and we constructed, as part of a larger setting, the Milford School District which had its own story, actors, and events and which provided an important context for Kensington.

In the course of the search for the major theme about which our developing ideas and data could be integrated. "Innovation and Change in American Education", became the guiding thesis. That theme is composed of a half dozen sub themes, each of which makes up a separate volume in the report. While we believe the totality of the study has its own kind of integrity and that each volume extends the meanings of the others, we have written each as a "stand alone" piece. That is, we believe each speaks to an important domain of Innovation and Change in American Education, each draws most heavily upon a particular subset of our data, and each contains important descriptive narratives, substantive grounded interpretations and generalizations. This foreword, which appears in each volume, is intended, in a few sentences, to keep the totality and each of the pieces in the forefront of the reader's consciousness.

### Volume I Chronicling the Milford School District: An Historical Context of the Kensington School

Kensington's fifteen year existence is but one small segment of Milford's sixty-five years of recorded history and one school in a district with a dozen other schools. The superintendent who built the school is just one of five individuals who have held the post. As we have told the story, we have raised generalizations regarding innovation and change, and we have presaged themes of policy, of local, state and national influences on the school, of organizational structure and process, and of curriculum and teaching. The key documents in developing the perspective were the official school board minutes. Newsletters to patrons, newspaper accounts, other records, and interviews, formal and informal, supplemented the basic documents.

## Volume II Milford: The School District as Contemporary Context

In a fundamental sense, Volume II is a continuation, a final chapter as it were, to the historical context of the Milford School District. It is a long chapter, however, for the central actors and events which immediately and directly shaped the Kensington School are in place, just as the school is in place. The ebb and flow of the district, in its recent history, is brought to a particular focus, one that will illuminate the events and themes that appear in the development and change in the Kensington School over its fifteen year history and in its current status. The board of education, the superintendency, the central office staff, and their interrelationships lead toward "a governance and organizational perspective on innovation and change". Board minutes remain the central core of the data with increasing amounts of information from public documents (e.g. newspapers), interviews with central actors, and observation of meetings.

## Volume III Innovation and Change at Kensington: Annals of a Community and School

After carefully examining the historical context of the Milford School District, our focus shifts to innovation and change at the Kensington School. Our search for an explanation of the profound changes that have taken place in a once innovative school, has pushed us back in time and obliged us to consider such wider topics as demography, neighborhoods, and political jurisdiction. Volume III begins by tracing origins and development of a community that became part of the Milford School District in 1949 and a neighborhood that began sending its children to Kensington School in 1964. With the opening of Kensington, the annals of the community are joined by a history of the school. As we develop the stories of Kensington and its neighborhood in tandem, we begin to tell of the interdependency of school and community and to further our understanding of innovation and change in schooling in contemporary American Society.

### Volume IV Kensington Today: Sailing Stormy Straits, a View of Education Policy in Action

An ethnographic account of the school today with particular reference to educational policy in action at the day to day school level is presented here. The major metaphor is a ship sailing through stormy straits on a perilous journey during the 1979-80 school year. Staff and students produce vivid scenes reflecting issues in racial integration, special education, discipline, and instruction in the basic subjects. Policy analysis seems analogous to the fine art of navigation.

### Volume V Educational Innovators Then and Now

Crucial to any education enterprise are the people who staff the schools. Smith and Keith characterized the original faculty of Kensington as true believers. In this Volume we sketch life histories, careers, serials of the original faculty based on extended open-ended interviews (2-7 hours), comments by spouses, friends and colleagues, and various writings--books, brochures, reports, and dissertations. Patterns and themes arise in the form of "secular religion," "you do go home again," "organizational niches and career opportunities for educationists," "maintenance of educational ideology," "continuity and change in personality," and "doctoral education, a disaster for reform oriented practitioners."

Volume VI Case Study Research Methodology: The Intersect of Participant Observation, Historical Method, Life History Research, and Follow-Up Studies

Regularly in our inquiry we have produced "methodological appendices" to our research reports. We saw our efforts as clarifying the craft of research as we practiced it, ordering its evolving nature, and continuously attempting to integrate it with other ways of knowing. This essay continues in that tradition. Specifically our mode of participant observation now has enlarged itself by a substantial historical thrust and a substantial life history or biographical thrust. In addition, our research is an instance of a special methodological stance, a follow-up or return to the setting of an earlier major study. (e.g., Middletown in Transition) In this way it takes on a time series quality with repeated observation. In doing the descriptive and analytical pieces, Volumes I through V, in reading about how others have done similar work, in talking with proponents of the various methods, we have reached for a broader synthesis of case study research methods in the intersection of these several approaches. We see all this as an important addition to the methodological literature in educational inquiry.

In summary, our research is a unique blend of approaches to the problems and issues of Innovation and change in American Education. It is grounded in the multiple aspects of a single school in a single school district. As in all case studies the particular events have major meanings for the actors in the setting, but, also, we believe that these events often capture images and ideas that have relevance for other people in other times and places. Recently, Geertz has spoken of these as "experience-near" and "experience-distant" conceptions. In each form we hope to be providing mirrors for educationists to see themselves better, that is more clearly, to be conscious of rephrased problems, and to create more viable options and alternatives. Our multi volumed report is presented with these aspirations in mind.

# Section I

## Problems and Procedures

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Original Problem Statement

When we first conceptualized the problems under study in the Kensington Revisited project we phrased our thoughts at several levels of abstractness and with several degrees of specificity and focus.[1]

> In its simplest yet most general form this research is a proposal for a fifteen year follow up of a highly innovative school and its original faculty, now scattered across the country. Such a research objective poses two immediate subproblems.
>
> 1. Locating the former faculty and administrators and through observation and interview obtaining a view of their later careers and their views of educational innovation and change.
>
> 2. Returning to the Kensington School and the Milford District for a special kind of ethnographic case study, that is, a descriptive/analytical account of the current status of the school plus an historical chronicle and interpretation of the process of change in the school over the decade and a half.
>
> The two problems are embedded in a unique empirical and methodological context. The first year of the school was intensively studied, a long monograph, Anatomy of Educational Innovation, (Smith and Keith, 1971) presented the results. Such a bench mark seems rare if not unique. The inquiry will be conducted by one of the original investigators; each of the other investigators involved in the original study has agreed to serve as consultants on the proposed project. (Proposal p. 3)

This monograph, Educational Innovators: Then and Now, Volume V in the series presents our analysis and interpretation of the life histories and perspectives of the original faculty from Kensington and Milford. In our proposal the specification focused the problem one step further:

---

[1] For a more detailed description and analysis of "the problem" in field studies see "Accidents, anomalies, serendipity and making the common place problematic: The origin and evolution of the field study problem." (Smith, 1981)

> In regard to the follow up of the original faculty members, the first round of questions/foreshadowed problems would include:
>
> 1. Where did the faculty go? What have they done? What are they doing now?
>
> 2. What role did the Kensington experience play in their lives? How do they see the experience now?
>
> 3. What is their general educational perspective now? What is their point of view about educational innovation?
>
> While such questions can go in several directions, the theme that will be returned to continually, is the meaning for schools--their structures and processes. (Proposal p. 5)

We moved to a more abstract level of analysis as we put the problem at the intersect of personality theory and organizational theory:

> A career is a "course of a person's life, especially in some pursuit." As such it is a long time unit in a theory of personality, a serial in Henry Murray's conceptual framework (1938, 1951, 1954). The intent of this part of the analysis will be to develop a careful chronicle of the educational positions held by each individual, the noneducational positions, educational training, other major events (eg. illness, marriages, divorce, retirement). Woven into this will be more subjective reports of decisions, plans, strategies, affect and feeling. The thrust will be toward a grounded theory of personality and educational careers (Becker, 1970; Thompson, 1967). The unique thrust will be the commonality of participation in a highly innovative educational experience. Our earlier analysis placed heavy emphasis on true belief, as Hoffer (1951) had developed the idea. Now we can see that in the context of another dozen - fifteen years. Casual contacts over the years indicate that some members of the faculty went on to other innovative schools, some went on to doctoral training programs, others became professors at colleges and universities, and at least one has left professional education altogether. (Proposal p. 9)

We even raised a simple model to provide a means for arraying and beginning to think about the data we would generate:

> Figure 1 is a tentative schematic outline of the possible play between data and ideas for capturing these phenomena.

> As these accounts are cumulated over the individuals who have been a part of Kensington, they will be searched (compared, contrasted, clustered) for latent patterns and regularities. This is in keeping with our earlier work in qualitative analysis of data (Smith, 1974; Smith and Pohland, 1976).
> (Proposal p. 10)

Insert Figure 1 About Here

In addition to true belief as an important conceptual issue we made mention, in the proposal, of the concepts of "inexperience" and "professional training" which were major items in the original analysis of Anatomy of Educational Innovation.

### 1.2 Original Statement of Methods

Methods and procedures intertwine with problems and purposes. They, too, evolve over time; consequently it seems helpful to indicate from the research proposal where we were at the beginning of the project:

> The procedures regarding the follow-up study represent a major extension and elaboration of our case study methods. Several models are available (e.g., Terman and Oden, 1947; Sears, 1977; Skeels, 1966; Nesselroade and Reese, 1973). Specifically, several problems loom up as large. The first is locating the people. While this will be harder than supposed, the investigator has been in contact with several over the years, several have taken Ph. D.'s and are in colleges and universities, some have kept up with each other. By telephone, letter, and inquiries at old addresses attempts would be made to track them down. Skeels suggests three essential qualities in this, "flexibility, ingenuity, and tenacity" (p. 28). Assuming their interest, willingness, and informed consent, each would be visited for two to three days of conversation, interview, and observation. The format of the interview would be a blend of narrative, open-ended questions, and focused questions. The content would reflect the concepts, problems, and issues listed earlier. Models would be similar to Gross et al.'s (1958) eight hour interview of school superintendents, Merton et al.'s (1956) focused interview, and the procedures of oral history (Baum, 1971 and

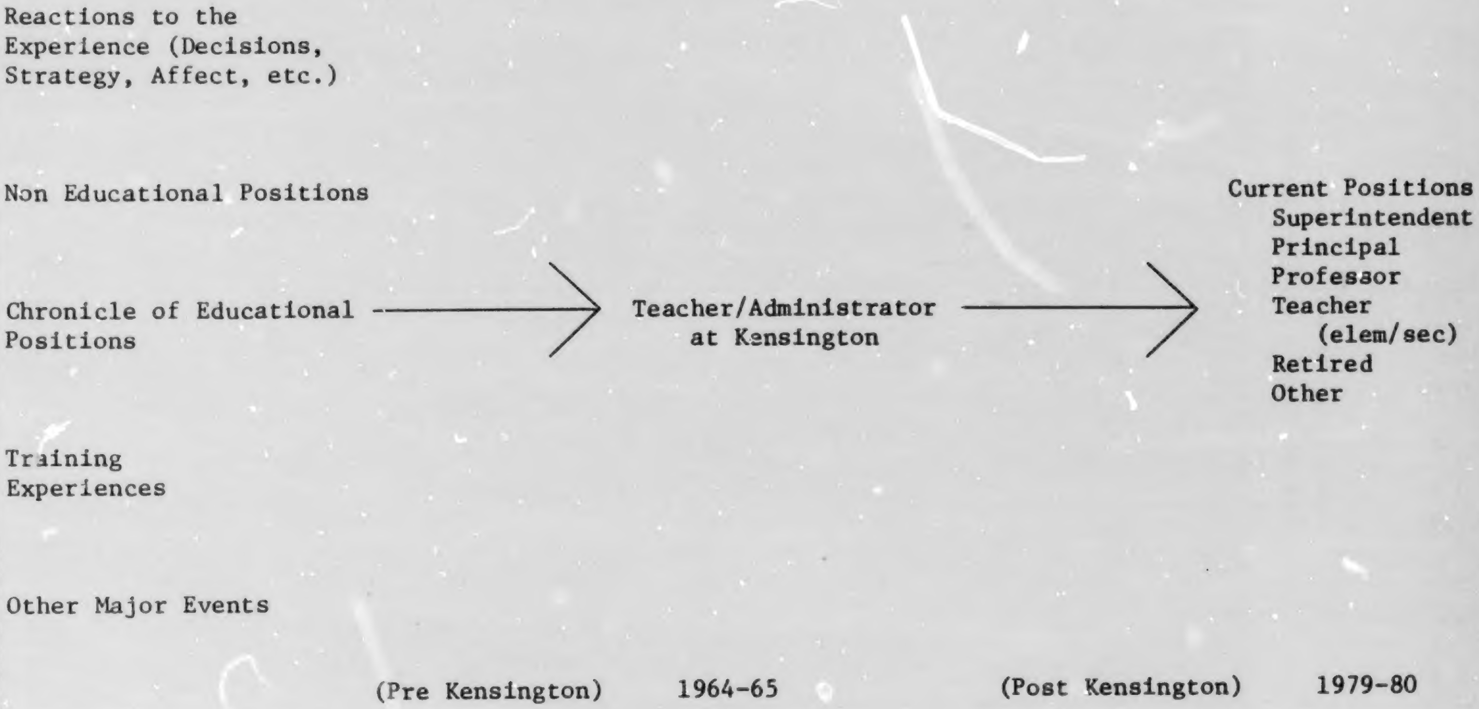
Reactions to the Experience (Decisions, Strategy, Affect, etc.)
Non Educational Positions
Chronicle of Educational Positions
Training Experiences
Other Major Events
Teacher/Administrator at Kensington
Current Positions
Superintendent
Principal
Professor
Teacher (elem/sec)
Retired
Other
(Pre Kensington)
1964-65
(Post Kensington)
1979-80

Figure 1: Schematic representation of educational careers over time (Research Proposal p. 11)

> Dexter, 1970). As much as possible of this would be taped for later analysis (e.g., Easley, 1974; Smith and Brock--in process). The observations would be of the individuals in their current organizational contexts. Their teaching, their administering, their current collegial relationships and their professional activities would be observed and noted. Further, copies of their professional writings would be collected. Finally, we would readminister two inventories of attitudes and beliefs, the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (Cook et al., 1951) and the Teacher Conceptions of the Educational Process (Wehling and Charters, 1969) which were first given 15 years before.[2] The rapport and personal relationships of the earlier period (e.g., the many accounts in Anatomy was/is such that the faculty will be honest and open. The researcher and his role in the past were perceived as careful and honest. (Proposal pp. 22-23)

The data gathering procedures received additional specification by linking it to procedures used in a recently completed study of the science program in the Alte School (Smith, 1978, 1981).

> The intensive interviews/observations/documentation thrust of the data collection is an extension of our earlier uses of participant observation and of the multi method, multi situation, multi concept and triangulation rationale. In our recent case study of the science education program in the Alte School District (Smith, 1977), a set of procedures evolved which presage the two or three day data collection sessions proposed here in Kensington Revisited. Several of the teachers and administrators in Alte were "old friends" from earlier professional experience in graduate school classes and joint projects. We tape recorded long entry interviews with each and later "mid way" interviews and finally "exit" interviews with some. These ran from one to three hours apiece. In the course of these conversations/interviews they dug out from their files hordes of documents--class schedules, curriculum guides, curriculum evaluation reports (by staff and outside agencies), committee reports, published papers by themselves and their colleagues, staff bulletins, newsletters, and so forth. The stacks of information were literally a foot high in some instances. Also, we "tagged along" to faculty meetings, to PTA meetings and we joined them at informal morning pre school coffee clatches and day to day lunches in the cafeteria. Finally, we rode buses and walked with them on field trips with the youngsters. The data which was generated was rich in quality and quantity. Much of it was immediately

---

[2] For a number of reasons we decided to omit these more structured instruments.

> relevant to our foreshadowed problems in science education, much of it was more a "spontaneous conviction" on their part, "you might be interested in this", an indicator of their own definition and phrasing of the problems and what was important and relevant. Synthesizing and integrating such data into a story or narrative on the one hand and an analytical/theoretical interpretation on the other was an exciting and creative task.
>
> In Kensington Revisited, our hope would be to extend the techniques over a several day period. Procedurably it seems a logical extension. Motivationally we've found most individuals fascinated and stimulated by the opportunity to think seriously and talk freely about the depth, breadth, and nuances of their educational point of views. (Proposal p. 23)

We presented several paragraphs on the "intellectual procedures" in data analysis as we carry out the field methods. These included such items as "foreshadowed problems", "immersion in concrete perceptual images", and "conscious searching." Those items, and a number of others, have been organized into a longer essay, "An evolving logic of participant observation, educational ethnography and other case studies" (Smith, 1979). Our more recent thoughts appear in Volume VI, Methodological Issues, of the present study.

## 2. THE INITIAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE FACULTY

Scattered through the account of Kensington's first year, as presented in Anatomy of Educational Innovation, are interpretations of the faculty as a group. A brief review of several key aspects gives a perspective on the faculty and thereby, provides a substantive context for the presentation of the results of the present study. True belief, inexperience, creativity and intelligence, and humor clarify the perspective.

### 2.1 True Belief

In the original account, wherein we tried to conceptualize the origins and development of an innovative educational organization we appealed strongly to Hoffer's (1951) concept of true belief. After some comments on the T group strategy for building an institutional core which involves a homogeneity of outlook and sentiments we continued:

> But people come to organizations with existing sentiments. If our data from Kensington can be generalized, we would suggest that the sentiments brought to a highly innovative organization are a special, different, and idiosyncratic kind and, as such, are an important aspect of the anatomy of such an organization. As we were a part of the Kensington experience and as we tried to analyze it, the emotional quality loomed large. From the first day of the summer workshop the observers noted the quality of excitement, enthusiasm, and high aspiration. (1971, pp. 99-100)

Later, we concluded:

> Hoffer (1951) ties together several aspects of sentiment in an organization as he describes facets of the True Believer, the man of fanatical faith who is ready to sacrifice his life for a holy cause:

> For men to plunge headlong into an undertaking of vast change, they must be intensely discontented yet not destitute, and they must have the feeling that by the possession of some potent doctrine, infallible leader or some new technique, they have access to a source of irresistible power. They must also have an extravagant conception of the prospects and potentialities of the future. Finally, they must be wholly ignorant of the difficulties involved in their vast undertaking. Experience is a handicap (p. 20).
>
> In the judgment of our case, his account underemphasizes the positive attraction of healthy people trying to make a better world. True believers come for many reasons. Some seem to have a relatively simple faith in working toward educational ideals that they hold sincerely and uncomplicatedly. Others perceive, quite clearly and consciously, the possibilities of combining their faith and their careers. Others seem to be searching for identity and a positive self-concept, as Klapp suggests. Although Kensington had those who were "intensely discontented" and "those who crave to be rid of an unwanted self," the majority were finding a freedom and an opportunity to create that is usually not available in the public schools --either from administrative fiat or from informal faculty "understandings." In addition, innovative organizations will have serious continuity problems because the staff will go on new quests. This departure is due, in part, to their high visibility and to being "bought" or competed for, combined with the commitment to advance the tenets of the movement. The grail is elusive; the quest is eternal. As shown earlier, Hoffer's analysis of potent doctrine, infallible leader, new techniques, extravagant conceptions of the future, ignorance of the difficulties, and the role of inexperience have a telling validity. He who would engage in large scale innovative programs must be cognizant of the role of true belief that is endemic to the process. (1971, pp. 115-116)

## 2.2 Humor

Humor interacted unusually with true belief and a related concept, crusaders. We noted then:

> Although much of our data have supported the observations of Klapp (1969), they do not confirm his concerns with humor and detachment. In delineating some of the characteristics of crusaders, he describes the crusader as taking himself seriously, lacking humor and ironic detachment toward his role, and being so utterly committed that he lacks role distance. At the close of the year, a coloring-book that

> lampooned the attempts of the staff to make parts of the program work was developed. It was a compendium of humor throughout the year. In this way humor, much as jargon, as we indicated previously, is a part of those characteristics the crusaders have which outsiders do not readily see nor appreciate. (1971, p. 12)

At another point we commented:

> From the first days in the August workshop through the dinner-party reminiscing in June, a thread of humor ran through the Kensington experience. At times, the humor was full of a youthful and uninhibited joy; at other times it contained the bite of bitterness and disappointment. This part of the story might have been entitled "The Adademic Career of 'Fully Functioning Freddy,'" the staff's good-humored early label for the intended product of Kensington's educational milieu. The most vivid illustration of humor occurred at a faculty party in early April. One of the by-products of this was a Kensington Coloring Book, a commentary on the year that was prepared by several of the creative staff. The analysis of the forms and functions of humor within school organizations seems a most necessary task. We have reproduced, as Figures 2 and 3, two pages, the first and last, from the coloring book. They capture well the flavor of the humor. In between the first and last pages were references such as "This is Basic Skills. Color them primerless," and "These are husbands and wives. Color them neglected." The content of the musical parodies speaks for itself.

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Insert Figures 2 and 3 About Here

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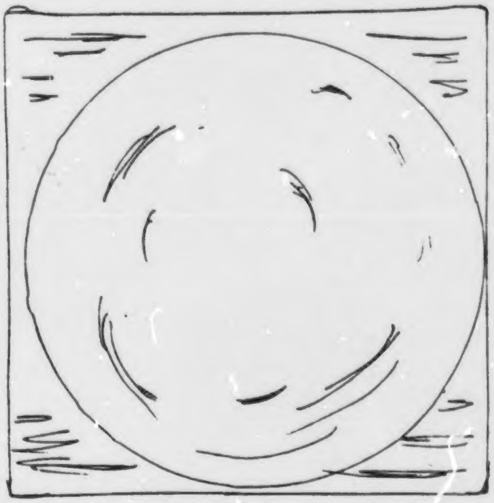
## 2.3 Inexperience

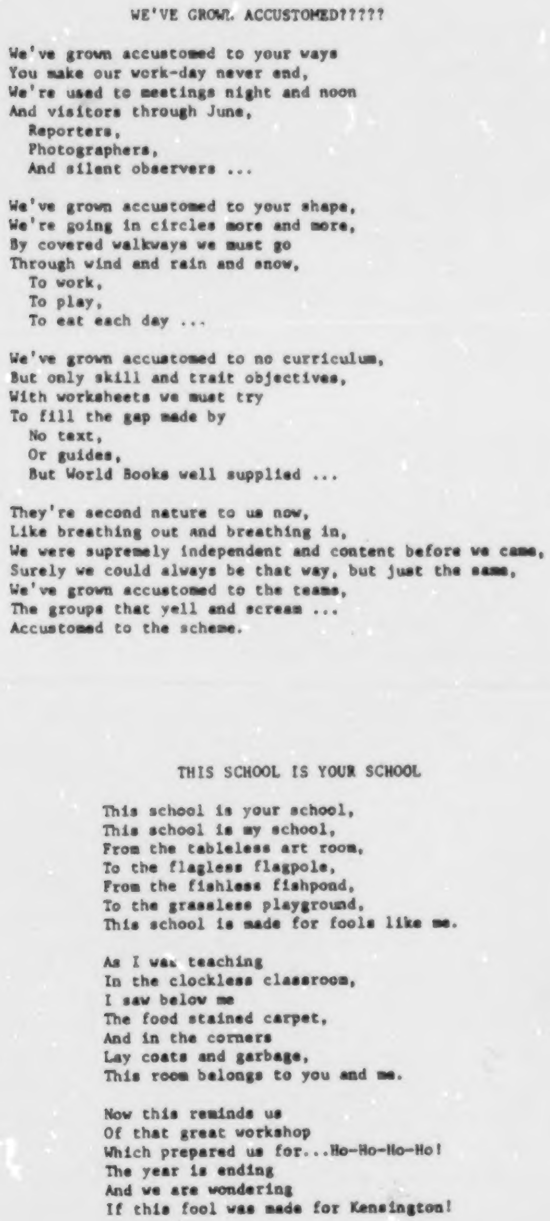
At several points in our analysis we made reference to inexperience, its antecedents and consequences. At one point we interrelated it with naivete and true belief:

> The man on the street, the practical man, and the man of affairs, all seem to utilize a concept such as "experience" as they think about their organizations. Social scientists (for example, March and Simon, 1958; Blau and Scott, 1962), tend to make less use of it and have not engaged in intensive



The □ is Kensington School
The ○ is the Faculty
Color them incongruently

Figure 2: The first page of the Coloring Book



WE'VE GROWN ACCUSTOMED?????

We've grown accustomed to your ways
You make our work-day never end,
We're used to meetings night and noon
And visitors through June,
  Reporters,
  Photographers,
  And silent observers ...

We've grown accustomed to your shape,
We're going in circles more and more,
By covered walkways we must go
Through wind and rain and snow,
  To work,
  To play,
  To eat each day ...

We've grown accustomed to no curriculum,
But only skill and trait objectives,
With worksheets we must try
To fill the gap made by
  No text,
  Or guides,
  But World Books well supplied ...

They're second nature to us now,
Like breathing out and breathing in,
We were supremely independent and content before we came,
Surely we could always be that way, but just the same,
We've grown accustomed to the teams,
The groups that yell and scream ...
Accustomed to the scheme.

THIS SCHOOL IS YOUR SCHOOL

This school is your school,
This school is my school,
From the tableless art room,
To the flagless flagpole,
From the fishless fishpond,
To the grassless playground,
This school is made for fools like me.

As I was teaching
In the clockless classroom,
I saw below me
The food stained carpet,
And in the corners
Lay coats and garbage,
This room belongs to you and me.

Now this reminds us
Of that great workshop
Which prepared us for...Ho-Ho-Ho-Ho!
The year is ending
And we are wondering
If this fool was made for Kensington!

Figure 3: The final page of the Coloring Book

theoretical reduction of the concept. In the Kensington story, it loomed large. Recall our brief introduction to the staff. Of the 21 original members, seven had not taught. One of the 14 who had taught was removed before school began and replaced by an inexperienced substitute. Nine additional staff members, five aides, and four student teachers had had minimal or no work experience in the public schools.

The interrelationships among enthusiasm, training, and knowledge arose dramatically as substantive issues in pedagogy appeared during the workshop:

> Another phenomenon that has struck me is that everyone in this workshop is devoting time and attention to professional matters in a way that I, personally, have never seen in our undergraduate elementary education students or by a school faculty. In this sense, the motivation is really intense and strong, and the people are willing to devote considerable energy with the task at hand. There are some interesting aspects about this because this is done within the limitations of their ability and their training. I cringe with the notion of how much more these people ought to know about reading, how much more they ought to know about social studies methods, and how inadequate most of their training has been as they talk about it, and how crucial it might be for what they are doing. Without question, the teacher education profession, at least as I know it, is really confused. Yet, the drama of this kind of involvement is quite exciting (8/21).

Analytically, several aspects seem crucial. In part, the administrative authorities had deliberately planned the organization in this manner. They did not want old solutions to educational problems. In their own words, they believed that it would be easier to train inexperienced personnel in new approaches than to retrain experienced persons. Experience, in this usage, seems to be a broad personality variable including schema dimensions such as awareness of problems and classical solutions to problems. Additionally, we argue, it contains trait and skill dimensions in executing these solutions and a high probability of success in this execution. For instance, if a child or class is having difficulty in understanding a concept in science or social studies, classical solutions would suggest that the teacher present a relevant illustration, exercise, or book passage to be read. Besides knowing the specific illustration, content, or title, the experienced teacher would know that it was "sure fire," that it had a high probability of reaching the goal, because she had sorted these through with previous trial and error. She would have a residual set of solutions. The inexperienced teacher probably would have a less wide repertory, although this seems linked closely with a more general

> creativity dimension, considerably less high-probability solutions, and probably less confidence in her tactics. Insofar as confidence produces cues of a self-fulfilling prophecy sort--both pupil compliance and pupil confidence of success--it becomes exceedingly important.
>
> As we have indicated, a further aspect of teacher motivation and commitment, beyond specific confidence, is the high enthusiasm for the cause, the ideology, which we found in a greater degree in the inexperienced as opposed to the experienced teachers.

## 2.4 Creativity and Intelligence

In innumerable incidents and events the quality of mind of the Kensington faculty revealed itself. The intelligence and creativity in the various instances of the formal doctrine, institutional plans, in materials construction, and in such off hand items as the faculty coloring book appeared through out. A clumsy paragraph in Anatomy summarized it this way:

> The staff seemed very able intellectually. Three of the group had all their doctoral course work finished and needed only a dissertation. All of these three had taught at the college level; one additional staff member held a part-time, Saturday morning college position, a Principles and Methods of Teaching course. Most of the staff had M. A.'s (some through an M.A.T. internship program). The quality of the intellectual life and discussions among the staff in committee and faculty meetings we found impressive relative to our contacts with other elementary schools. (1971, p. 56)

It was a most unusual elementary school faculty.

## 2.5 Summary

We have chosen to highlight four important clusters of characteristics of the original faculty as we perceived them fifteen years ago. The modal image was youth and inexperience; humor and creativity and intelligence; and enthusiasm, commitment, and true belief. They were men and women on a crusade, so we thought then. Now we have returned to them after fifteen years. Before we detail their life histories and cluster items into patterns and configurations we need to indicate how our procedural intentions were modified. Hence a brief methodological statement is in order.

## 3. METHODOLOGY: BRIEFLY CONSIDERED

### 3.1 Restating the Problem

As can be inferred from our opening comments we had phrased our problem around careers and life experiences subsequent to the first year of Kensington. From the first interview, partly out of our unstructured approach, partly out of seeing old friends from years ago, and partly from a never ending and unbounded kind of curiosity we talked of many more events. The early lives of our subjects/colleagues/friends flowed easily and naturally. We were into life histories immediately and the phrasing of our problem shaded off into broader and deeper channels.

While a systematic assessment of the wide range of methodologies used in this series of studies will be undertaken later, in Volume VI, an operational statement of our procedures will be provided in this chapter. Briefly put, we undertook the development of life histories of participants based on two to seven hour taped interviews sometimes conducted by one of us, sometimes by the other but usually conducted by both authors present in the interview. Further, we had career resumés from some of the individuals who had recently changed jobs. Finally, a few of our faculty members had written and published on topics relevant to Kensington; we tried to gather and read a good bit of this.

### 3.2 The Life History Vehicle

We share the concerns and trepidations expressed by Robert White in his classic study, Lives in Progress regarding the frail vessels in which research data must be gathered. Each method, regardless of its position on the quantitative or qualitative, the structured or unstructured, the controlled or naturalistic continua has its peculiar assets and liabilities. White expressed his concern as follows:

> ...it will be clear that the study of another person is a difficult undertaking which cannot be handled in a cut-and-dried fashion. Perhaps the very first thing to consider is the other person's motivation for taking part in such a study. Unless his interest is enlisted to a rather unusual extent he is not likely to be disposed toward whole-hearted participation and candid self-disclosure. Even when cooperation is perfect, a further difficulty arises from the very nature of the material. No interviews or available tests, no existing methods of observation, can possibly be considered complete or definitive. Furthermore, all methods yield information of a sort that leaves much to be judged and interpreted by the examiners. In this way the frailties of the examiners enter the study and constitute a liability in reaching valid conclusions. It clearly behooves us to reflect a little on what is involved in trying to understand other people.
>
> (White, 1952, pp. 92-93)

Balanced against those cautions is the compelling power and richness of life histories for our purposes. Our aim was similar to that of Goodson as he described the method and rationale of his recent study:

> The research method employed was to begin by collecting the life histories of the major participants in the promotion of this new subject. The patterns of decision, the changes of direction and the stated rationales given by these promoters of the subject were echoed in the evolutionary profile of the subject which was later constructed. *In a real sense the life histories of these key personnel constituted the life history of the subject in question.* (Our Italics)
>
> (Goodson, 1980, p.17)

In addition to the fascination and richness of life histories for their own sake, we were drawn to them as ideal for our purpose of exploratory processes which occurred between the time of the original study and the current life space of our teachers and staff. In effect, we had entered the lives of twenty-one professional educators at a point in time when they were beginning an exciting venture of developing Kensington and then we returned fifteen years later to again collect data in an intensive one or two day interview. These two studies were similar to selecting two frames from a full length movie for inspection and making comparisons and contrasts between them. Of utmost importance for our study was the inference of processes prior to and since the original Kensington. For example, we were puzzled by the origins of educational ideology which culminated in the decision to respond to the exciting and frustrating venture of building a new and different school. What varied routes did our educators take as they were being socialized on the farms and in the hamlets of this country? Similarly, what had occurred during the fifteen year interim to influence the maintenance and/or modification of these same educational perspectives? Becker (1966) argued persuasively for the life history in the following words:

> We can, for instance, give people a questionnaire at two periods in their life and infer an underlying process of change from the differences in their answers. But our interpretation has significance only if our imagery of the underlying process is accurate. And this accuracy of imagery--this congruence of theoretically posited process with what we could observe if we took the necessary time and trouble--can be partially achieved by the use of life history documents. For the life history, if it is well done, will give us the details of that process whose character we would otherwise only be able to speculate about, the process to which our data must ultimately be referred if they are to have theoretical and not just an operational and predictive significance. (p. XIV)

The emphasis in our research on an organic wholeness is deliberate and particularly useful when examining illusive threads of earlier socialization processes which have all but disappeared from consciousness.

Subjects would attempt to recall reasons for educational beliefs and would frequently digress into a story about their first day of school or life on the farm or about a pet they raised and light would be shed, albeit obliquely, on the topic at hand. Goodson shared our concern in the following words:

> *In understanding something so intensely personal as teaching it is critical that we know about the person the teacher is:* our paucity of knowledge in this area is a manifest indictment of the range of our sociological imagination. The life historian pursues the job from his own perspective, a perspective which emphasizes the value of the person's "own story." By tracing this person's life over time it becomes possible to view the changes and underlying forces which influece that person at work, to estimate the part which teaching plays within the overall life of the teacher.
> (1980, p. 13)

We would particularly stress the use of life history sketches for unravelling threads as intricate as motive structures and personal value systems. For instance, to ask participants to state reasons for undertaking the original task of building Kensington after 15 years have passed is to invite superficial and self-serving answers. The answers themselves are current word molds but the original castings may have long since submerged from sight or recall. However, those current molds are more likely to be interpretable within a life history which dredges up childhood dreams and disappointments. A participant may recall joining the faculty because at that point in her life she was somewhat bored and sought a new challenge while playing down any latent zeal to foster social reform. This same participant might weave a fascinating story of a childhood spent righting wrongs, mending birds' wings and serving as a resident story teller for young children which suggests a more active motive structure other than alleviation of boredom.

Our commitment to the use of life history material is clearly strong and enthusiastic and not born out of a lack of a "better" method for data collection. It grew out of our initial yet evolving conception of our problem.

### 3.3 Finding the People

In our original proposal we rather blithely described our task to "...locate, observe, and interview the two dozen key administrators and teachers who originated the school." By rather circuitous routes this search mission was accomplished and we smiled as we recalled Skeels' (1966, p. 28) advice concerning "flexibility, ingenuity, and tenacity" as qualities to assist in the search. Upon reflection those are characteristics deemed useful and we would underscore tenacity as perhaps the greatest virtue.

Our search could be described as a series of post holes drilled into our social and professional networks with the pursuit of leads from each drilling until we reached a dead end. We then repeated the drilling in a new location. The first and easiest step was to locate the several people who had resided in the immediate vicinity and could be located through the telephone directory. This step was easily accomplished but our hopes for an intricate network of Christmas card lists or other forms of address links were quickly dashed. We found, rather surprisingly, that very few links existed among the participants. In this initial foray two couples and two individuals have remained in close contact with one another but beyond these pairs the routes from Kensington were varied and disparate.

In addition to these individuals still in the area, another group of participants was known to us as a result of professional contacts since Kensington and hence, easily reached. This group, all male, included the former principal, superintendent, and curriculum director who have maintained professional association contacts. In general, their whereabouts were known to the researchers even though few personal contacts had been maintained during the fifteen year interval. One of the teachers was located through a chance event growing out of a national conference. A former participant of Kensington noted the university on a name tag of a colleague of the senior author and inquired about him. This led to an exchange of letters and his eventual participation in the study. Again, rather surprisingly, there was practically no interchange between and among members of this group during the fifteen year period.

Our next venture led us to a graduate school which had been known to be the next stop for two of our participants. One individual was immediately located but the other alluded us because of name changes. We were struck by the impact of name changes upon professional identities. Beyond making life difficult for researchers the larger issue of women "disappearing" due to marriage and the distinct possibility of being under represented in research pools of this nature was a challenge which we chose to meet head-on. We were determined to find everyone in spite of this difficulty and we eventually succeeded in all but one case.

We attempted to trace individuals forward in time from their last known address after leaving Kensington but apparently too many moves had been made by our highly mobile staff to achieve results by this method.

Failing in our efforts to move forward in time we went back to original records and phoned parents of participants who were listed in the cumulative folders stored in a back room of the Milford District offices. This ploy yielded several current addresses and phone numbers and in addition located the one individual who had current addresses of five participants as a result of Christmas card exchanges. The "unlocking" of this group then provided us with enough new post holes to complete our search.

Two rather isolated efforts are worth of mention in that they might be overlooked. One individual was particularly difficult to locate until a call was made to the church in the individual's home town which had been listed in the original records. Even though no living relatives of the individual were still in the area we were pleasantly surprised to learn that the individual in question had married, returned home and was an active member of the church. Secretaries again demonstrated their value as repositories of information. A second effort involved pursuing other listings in a small town with the same last name as the participant on the chance that an uncle or cousin might assist us in our search and this yielded our "missing" person.

Ultimately we reached all but two: one individual, Jean Emerson, had died recently. The other individual's, Jack Davis', whereabouts remain unknown.

### 3.31 Involvement of Participants

After locating a particular individual a telephone contact was established and following a general exchange of information regarding current whereabouts, family and job issues, the purpose of the study was explained and individuals were asked if a proposal could be sent and a second call would follow to determine the individual's willingness to participate in a taped two to seven hour interview on a broad range of issues related to Kensington as well as experiences prior to as well as following Kensington. With very few exceptions the responses of the participants were overwhelmingly positive. Individuals were often eager to re-establish contact and discuss the "good old days" as several phrased the experience.

We stress the eagerness of the individuals' participation because of the subtle interplay between our methodology and the purposes of our study. Robert White was faced with a similar problem in Lives in Progress and the following comment seemed to say exactly what we had in mind:

> It is sometimes felt that the interview method puts the examiner at the mercy of whatever fictions the subject chooses to set forth. When we ask someone to tell us what he considers to be the characteristic and essential features of his life, we certainly give him an opening to regale us with falsified pictures, selected events, and highly colored interpretations. Even when he intends to tell nothing but the truth, we cannot expect him to cancel his unwitting defenses or set aside his cherished illusions. Under favorable circumstances, however, this very real defect in the interview method can be greatly diminished. Much depends on the subject's motives and the relationship he establishes with the examing staff. Some people do not really like to have their personalities studied. They feel defensive and would prefer to study the examiners while keeping secret their own true qualities. Others participate willingly so long as they can fathom the purpose of the procedures but become resentful if they suspect the examiners of trying to learn something which they themselves do not know. The subjects described in this book were relatively free from these forms of resistance. The process of being studied was congenial to them, satisfying important needs and thus evoking their fullest cooperation. The pattern of favorable motives was quite different in each

> case, as we shall see in later chapters, but it was always such as to dispose the subjects toward judicious candor in discussing themselves. (White, 1952, pp. 93-94)

So, also, was it with our subjects, colleagues, friends.

### 3.32 Sequencing the Participants

While many times the selection of people to interview at a particular time was simple based on expedience or geographical proximity, several factors guided our overall strategy. First, we began with people who could give us the greatest scope and coverage of issues which might be pursued in greater depth with later individuals. We sought people at each teaching level in the early stage of interviewing to assure coverage. Second, we chose to interview individuals in key roles, (e.g., Principal and Superintendent) during the middle phase to allow us to probe issues raised by early interviews but also to enable us additional interviews to follow leads provided by our key participants. We were struck by the criticality of key individuals and realized again our indebtedness to the participants for the willing involvement in the study. While each person added greatly we were made aware that without the Principal's willingness to share his insights and observations we would have had a difficult time completing the study at all and even if we would have completed it there would have been huge holes left by key individuals absences.

## 3.4 Interviewing

### 3.41 Dual Interviewing

Most of our interviews were conducted with the participant and both researchers present. Initially we selected this technique because we both wanted to be present for the early interviews as we were shaping our guiding questions and didn't want to miss the early content emerging from the interviews. We fully intended to then split the remaining individuals and conduct the interviews with just one of us present. As frequently occurs, serendipity smiled and we saw definite advantages in our approach. First, the role of interviewer and observer can be interchanged allowing one researcher to "back off," pay attention to more subtle cues indicating tension, threat or other mechanisms and then choosing to pursue those leads or redirect if that is more appropriate. Second, the observing one of the pair can chart out a line of questioning more leisurely and pursue that route to give the other interviewer a chance to relax and "re-load." Third, the observer can go back over notes and pick up leads for further elaboration which is more difficult to do when in the actual line of questioning. Fourth, different interviewers develop lines of questioning which are highly efficient and each can develop a speciality with the "two-platoon" system of interviewing. Fifth, interviewers can cover for one another's mistakes very effectively. At times an interviewer phrases a question poorly and the other edits or elaborates the question. Again, there are times when one interviewer is simple having a bad day and the other caries a greater share of the load. The obvious necessity for two people to be attuned to one another's strengths and weaknesses is a prerequisite for this technique. Sixth, the difference in personality match-ups allows a greater rapport with some participants than others. Sensing this allows the better match-ups to be utilized to a greater extent.

The obvious advantages of this method carry potential liabilities as well. Perhaps the most important caution is the need to be sensitive to the participant's response. The dual interview could be a very demanding and exhausting experience both because of the fresh supply of questions but also because the contrasting styles of the interviewers could become tension producing. The ethical responsibilities of any interviewer are doubly important when the additional pressure of a second interviewer is added. Also, if one is not careful, the two interviewers can spend time talking to one another and dominate the discussion unnecessarily.

### 3.42 Interview Patterns

While variations existed, the usual interview lasted from three to six hours and was done in two or three sessions. Typically we began in the afternoon, taped for two or three hours, broke for dinner, returned for an hour or so after dinner and then returned for a couple of hour wrap up the following morning. Usually the dinner hour was spent with the spouse included and an attempt was made to provide participants with information about Kensington today and the happenings of other participants. Occasionally, the spouse joined in the taping at the beginning or end of the session but unless they were integrally involved in Kensington they played a very low-key role in the interviews. But they did broaden the life context of the discussion and indirectly validated and emphasized or de-emphasized particular items in the stories.

### 3.43 Content of Interview

A gradual outline for the interviews emerged from our first sequence. We began with a simple request to either tell us about their life before Kensington or to chronicle the events of their life after Kensington. Usually the latter route was chosen and the first taping was spect tracing the personal and/or professional odyssey of each person. Having brought us up to date the usual ploy was to ask about how the individual became involved in Kensington and to then trace backward in time, their early home socialization and school experience.

While references and comments about Kensington would occur at any time the final session would usually deal explicitly with perceptions of the experience then as well as post-hoc reflections. We never used an interview guide or a set line of questions. We preferred the free flow of discussions following the broad outline described above.

## 3.5 Summary Observations and Interpretations

Before and after the interview the researchers taped lengthy impressions of people and events. We often had hours driving back to motels and airports and almost always filled those hours with taped comments. We particularly worked hard to record our first impressions after the evening's interviews were completed. The comments were wide ranging and often highly speculative comments which yielded most of the themes which eventually emerged from the study. Typically, one researcher would venture an opinion, observation or interpretation, document it with one or more pieces of data from the recent interview and then yield the microphone to the other researcher who would usually provide additional documentation if in agreement or counter evidence if he disagreed and then he would offer opinion, observations or interpretations of his own. Thus we wound down from the excitement of our interviews.

In the free flowing exhange which characterized Summary Observation and Interpretations, the exchange of bias, opinion, and evaluative statements was inevitable. Again, Robert White (1952) was forced to deal with a similar issue and we felt compatible with this reasoning as he came to grips with the often highly emotional responses elicited by particular participants. In his study the strong and contrasting feelings regarding Hartley Hale needed to be handled and were described in the following passage:

> The final point to consider with regard to method is the judging and interpreting activity performed by the examiners. It is impossible to study another person without making evaluations, and it is hard to keep these evaluations from being seriously distorted by one's personal reactions to the subject. Hartley Hale, for example, is a man who evokes strong feelings in the people who become acquainted with him. These feelings in turn call forth definite preferences as to what the case material should reveal. Some people are impressed by his success and admire his rapid climb on the ladder of professional status. Some are particularly taken by his vigorous self-confidence and capacity for independent and masterful action. Some tend to emphasize his service and self-dedication in the field of medicine. For people thus disposed it is natural to hope that the reconstructed story will be one of triumphs over adversity, a living proof that circumstances can be conquered by will power.
>
> Other people react with envy to a life that has achieved the outward marks of success. They prefer to feel that Hale had an easy time of it....
>
> Others dislike him for his attitude toward clumsy subordinates and toward his long-suffering wife, feeling that he deserves the comeuppance of an unhappy future....

> The study of personality is one of the most difficult branches of knowledge in which to achieve a judicious outlook, free from invasion by personal preferences and personal feelings about the subject matter. Even when the more obvious kinds of prejudiced thinking are overcome, there is still the danger of projecting one's unconscious problems and unwitting attitudes into judgment.
>
> There are only two ways in which this difficulty can be reduced to relatively harmless proportions. One of these is to neutralize the distortions by having several different workers collaborate in making the interpretations. Especially if these workers are of somewhat different backgrounds and training, they can, to a considerable extent, cancel each other's personal rigidities of judgment. The second way is that of progressively teaching the examiners to overcome their rigidities and to achieve greater judiciousness through increased familiarity with their own personalities. Such education occurs quite naturally in the course of team studies of personality, as in fact it does for many people simply through the experiences of everyday life.
>
> (White, 1952, pp. 99-101)

On other occasions we have attempted to speak to some of the same issues (Smith and Pohland, 1974, 1975; Smith, 1979).

### 3.6 Reporting Results: Options and Dilemmas

One of the current debates with the life history movement lies in the relative emphasis on descriptive versus theoretical formulations in the reporting of results. It is not a pseudo problem. Prestigious contemporary authorities take vigorous and oppositional stands on the issue. Almost to the point of caricature, Coles and Coles (1980) vilify the theorists:

> We have not been trying to extract statements from American citizens in order to construct self-important theories. Our nation's cultural landscape--yes, from "sea to shining sea"--is already cluttered, if not badly contaminated, by a large and constantly increasing mass of "findings": the "data" of various social science research projects. Everyone's "attitudes" about everything have been, continue to be, "surveyed." We have been declared a bundle of reflexes,

> organisms that respond to "drives," a tangle of hidden and not-so-hidden psychopathology. We have heard our poor called culturally deprived" and "culturally disadvantages," our ordinary working people described as "one-dimensional," as in possession of a "false consciousness," and dozens of other not-so-friendly labels, by critics who are more sparing with themselves and their own kind. The last thing we want to do is come up with a few more pushy, overwrought, wordy generalizations about America's people, and specifically, its women, who have been getting a good deal of attention lately--not always discerning or appropriate. (pp. 1-2)

After a reference to one of their subjects, who quoted her grandmother's comment, "You'll find all kinds among all kinds," their concern seems a fear of stereotypes and overly simplified generalizations, for the Coles then comment:

> No doubt there are valuable ways of pulling together life's variousness into compact, suggestive statements. The point is to move from the particular person to the broader arc of humanity without violating the kind of truth that daughter of a slave knew in her bones. One old-fashioned and still rather lively, penetrating, and illuminating way of doing so is through the medium of a life-history (not to be confused with a case-history). Biographers know that through a person's story they can shed light on the stories of others, too. And novelists know that even a person imagined can do likewise--make the "real" seem closer at hand and more sharply focused: a paradox, and one of many in a world full of small as well as large ambiguities, ironies, inconsistencies, incongruities. Any psychological theory, any sociological scheme of interpretation had better do justice to all that--to the complexity of human affairs--if it is to pass the muster of a knowing daughter of a slave, and of her granddaughter. Amid all the structuring of life into "periods," "stages" of human development, with psychosocial variables and sociocultural factors, there is room for plain biographical presentation, with a vivid moment or two--stories of humor, of regret and sadness, of aspirations retained or dashed, of fears banished or never let go.
>
> We have tried to shape what we have seen and heard into a kind of story--a life presented, with all the subdued tension and drama, the dignity, and inevitably the moments of fear and sadness, that characterize most lives. (pp. 3-4)

So the argument is made for biography, for life history, for narrative.

But creeping in, is the intimation that maybe it's the wrong kind of theory that is under attack. The concepts used provocatively, to contrast with "periods" and "stages," are:

> ...vivid moment...
> humor...
> regret and sadness...
> aspirations retained or dashed...
> fears banished or never let go...
> subdued tension and drama...
> dignity... (p. 4)

When arranged this way, their account is almost poetic. When each item is taken on, one by one, as a social science concept, with antecedents and consequences, in the best positivistic style (Zetterberg, 1965) a very difficult agenda is created. What does a theoretical social scientists make of "regret and sadness," of "fears banished or never let so," of "subdued tension and drama"?

In contrast, Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) talks of Men and Women of the Corporation. The accounts of managers, secretaries, and wives come alive as she accents structures of opportunities, broadening the distribution of power and helping balance numbers of men and women. As we thought again of Laura, Masie, Sue, Marie, and Eileen, from the Coles' account, their stories took on additional meaning when viewed from a perspective containing these theoretical concepts.

It is not only the psychologists and psychiatrists who fight this way over the study of individuals, but also practitioners of every other social science discipline. History, the heartland of the particular, has its theoretical, and sometimes quantitative, types who worry about forces, factors, and dimensions (White, 1963; Stone, 1981). Educational evaluation, while dominated by the experimentalists and theorists do have their responsive, narrative types (Hamilton, et al, 1977). Anthropologists differ as well (Lewis, 1970 versus Geertz, 1973). Sociologists are among the most vehement and varied. Philosophers, too, have their preferred styles, e.g. Hempel (1965) and Scriven (1959).

Our own approach, over the years has been to give close to equal time to both narrative and theorizing, sometimes a little more of one and sometimes the other. And sometimes trying to blend and integrate stories and ideas in different ways. One of the best resolutions has been what Hexter (1971) called, "processive history," an alternative different from narrative history or analytical history. Processive history involves knowing outcomes and building meaning and drama into the account using what he calls macro and micro rhetorical principles. Stone (1981) speaks of "stories guided by a pregnant principle."

A third interpretative point is that there can be very dull, boring narrative accounts from which one learns nothing and wishes time had not been wasted. Equally often theoretical accounts appear that are obvious rather than penetrating and whose generalizations do not teach one anything of significance. Rather, the trick seems to be in being clever, to see and to communicate in an interesting and exciting manner, items that readers find important and worth learning. And that is very hard to do.

## 3.7 Conclusions

The life history material developed in this study was subjected to multiple reviewers at different points in the process. First, with two interviewers the likelihood of one person's bias and perspective influencing the outcome is substantially reduced. Second, members of the team questioned and probed regarding the data base for generalizations derived from the tapes. Third, data have arisen from other times, places and sources. The most dramatic illustration concerns the superintendent. The Milford District records include school board minutes and community newsletters. Some district "fans" have collected newspaper accounts from other times and places. Fourth, at different points in their lives some of our participants lives have crossed. As each presented small--and occasionally large--items of this sort we could cross check stories. Finally, the materials used were shared with the participants prior to publication to gain their perspective on the fidelity of our accounts. While these checks do not eliminate the possiblity of erroneous interpretations at least the frequency of their occurrence has been substantially reduced.

# Section II

# Interpretive Life History Themes

## 1. INTRODUCTION: THEMES AND PATTERNS

After considerable struggle we settled finally on several broad themes to interpret our life histories.[1] The first is "educational careers: people and positions over time." This tends to be a more outside, behavioral view of what has happened to our innovators over the last fifteen years. While it was a theme with which we started, it soon became more complicated than a matter of fact look at the careers of educational innovators. Our group broke nicely into the cluster of three administrators, all men, the male teachers, and the female teachers. The latter split easily into younger and older. While all this is simple, and hardly a cut beyond common sense, it seemed very critical for our data. It enabled us to say a good bit about our people and what and why they have done what they have done professionally.

The second theme is really a further analysis and interpretation of the career theme. We have called it "Issues in Careers" and extended the discussion with reference to "Rethinking Teaching as a Woman's Career," "Reformers as Administrators," and an old issue "Ph. D. Programs: Do it and Forget It."

The third theme, "the natural history of belief systems," has had a more tumultuous time in its construal and development. It began with our early observations in 1964-65 of the staff as a group of true believers, men and women of fanatical faith in a cause. In the current analysis we had difficulties deciding whether the accent was on "true" or on "belief" or on "the person" which seem to be the components of true believer. Two preliminary generalizations, close to our data arose. First we were surprised at the religious backgrounds of the individuals in our group and we began to think and talk about "educational reform as secular religion." This was doubly surprising in that we used a number of religious or quasi religious concepts--true belief, commitment, crusader, pursuit of the grail, in our earlier account Anatomy of Educational Innovation. Secondly, we were surprised by the fact that these innovative, avantgarde, change the world types "do go home again." The issue was not even on our minds initially. Geographically, intellectually, and attitudinally they returned to their origins, reverted to more basic values in greater numbers and to a larger degree than we would have guessed even if we had thought about it at all. That suggested the possibility of very basic personality dispositions at work.

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[1] We treat in considerable detail that intellectual struggle in our methodological piece, Educational innovation: a life history perspective presented at the St. Hilda's Conference, September 1983, and published in Volume VI.

These items plus other clusters of data and other low level abstractions led us gradually to formulate the broader more abstract "natural history of belief systems." This theme breaks into 1) some introductory remarks on current beliefs; 2) the complexity of belief systems, in this instance, educational reform as secular religion; 3) the origins, development and transformation of belief systems; and 4) the you-do-go-home-again theme. Finally, we raise conclusions and implications about belief systems, about educational innovation, and about the relation between the two.

In short, this very unusual group of educators is seen from the outside perspective of their careers, positions over time. The inside perspective accents the conception of belief systems. We try for a look at the natural history of its structure and content. We think that such views provide a major correction to current views of educational innovation.

Within the case study format, the atypicality of our group from teachers-in-general, but perhaps not so atypical of educational innovators, and the small size of the group make our results, conjectures, hunches, and hypotheses in the best sense of the generation of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Our hope is that our surprises will lead to other inquiry and reflection on the veridicality of our view of innovators, on the potency of our discriminations, and on the generalizability of our ideas. In effect, we hope our results will be tested against others personal experiences, cases, data, and theory.

## 2. EDUCATIONAL CAREERS:
## PEOPLE AND POSITIONS OVER TIME

In a sense a career is a relatively simple phenomenon--lots of people have them. In another sense it's an interesting two sided conceptual coin. An occupation can be seen from the outside as a series of steps or positions that individuals may move through over a life time as Logan Wilson did for The Academic Man (1942) and Howard Becker did for the Chicago Public School Teacher (1951).[2] The usual analytical pattern has been to view careers in terms of hierarchically ordered, vertical, or ranked positions. The "successful" individual advances "up the ladder," so to speak. Becker argued persuasively that the career options open to the Chicago Public School Teacher were captured best as horizontal mobility, a career at the same level but to positions characterized as having better working conditions. Part of our concern will lie in the structure of the occupational world open to educational innovators.

From the inside a career can be view as one part of an individual's open ended search for an identity. As such, values, beliefs, motives, and abilities intertwine. With perceptions of the world, often construed as opportunities. Actions become hypotheses or trials which are tested, confirmed or disconfirmed. With these new perceptions, an individual is led to altered conceptions and reconstruals. Shortly, the analyst finds oneself in the fascinating problems in personality development and change. As we have indicated, when the individuals are educational innovators the views of careers become doubly fascinating.

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[2] Business executive careers have been examined by Warner and Abegglen (1955), research scientists by Roe (1953), call girls (Greenwald (1958), and mental patients by Goffman (1961). The list seems endless, and illustrates the importance and wide applicability of the conception.

A further perspective arose especially as we thought more carefully about the women in our group of teachers. If one assumes that social reality is not a "natural phenomenon," which evolves according to natural laws independently of the interests, perspectives, choices, and actions of individuals and groups, then the social structure made up of positions can be seen as "man made" and malleable. At such a point, the set of issues surrounding the improvement of American society, as typified by the women's movement, becomes relevant to our discussion. From The Feminine Mystique (1963), as Betty Friedan labeled the problem of no name to her more recent The Second Stage (1981) we find a set of issues, a social agenda, which, in a very startling way, our data on our female teachers permit a reconsideration. At Kensington teaching was not "a woman's occupation", although it is more generally so in America. Our female teachers, after they left Kensington, treated the "woman's occupation" they found in diverse and creative ways. We believe some of their actions are worthy of broader consideration.

In short, careers seem an important lever into understanding one aspect of the phenomenon of educational innovation and change. As we began to order our data, we broke our group into a first pattern: the three male administrators, the seven male teachers, the three older females, and the seven younger females. Those common sense divisions had a telling effect in developing a number of ideas.

## 2.1 The Three Innovative Administrators

Spanman, Cohen, and Shelby were respectively Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent, and Principal, the three administrators of the Milford School District and the Kensington Elementary School who planned and developed the Kensington School as an educational innovation. Rather than raise the careers of each in great detail we will focus on Superintendent Steven Spanman as the administrator prototype. Brief items from Cohen and Shelby will accent issues and introduce diversity.

In Figure 1 we have collated several kinds of information: highest degrees, positions at Milford/Kensington, major position since 1964-65, current position (1979-80), and future possibilities.

Insert Figure 1 About Here

### 2.11 Steven Spanman: Superintendent

In everyone's eyes, Steven Spanman has been a man on the move. It's tempting to say that rapidity of movement is the most salient dimension of Spanman's career. Without question it is obvious, visible, and dramatic, but so indeed are several other aspects which we will describe. Figure 2 portrays in a glance how rapid that movement was. Born in a small southwestern town he graduated from high school as he turned 17, entered a Baptist College for a year, moved to a branch of the State University, and was graduated at 20. By 24, he completed two years of military service, an M.A. in Educational Administration, and another year of teaching. In the next five years he had finished two stints as a principal, finished an Ed.D., and became assistant superintendent in a

| Name | Degrees | Milford/ Kensington Position | Major Position Since Milford/ Kensington | Current Position | Future Possibility |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Steven Spanman | BA,<br>MA<br>Ed.D | Superintendent | Big City Superintendent | Professor of Education | Educational Consultant |
| Jerl Cohen | BA<br>MA<br>Ph.D | Curriculum Director/ Assistant Superintendent | Professor of Education | Dean of School of Education | ——— |
| Eugene Shelby | BA<br>MA<br>Ph.D | Principal | Elementary Principal | Elementary Principal | 1)Assistant Superintendent<br>2)Leadership in Principal's Organization |

Figure 1: Career Positions of Milford/Kensington Administrators

city school district. At 32 he arrived in Milford. The fourth year of that tenure he was on leave of absence. A couple years of Foundation activity and at 38, he became superintendent of a major city school system. After a decade of that he moved to a University Professorship at Southwestern State University. Both of these later appointments involved a return to the state in which he was born and raised.

Insert Figure 2 About Here

Along the way several themes appeared which clarified the rapid career rise. Related, presumably antecedent to, rapid upward mobility are high energy and high activity levels:

> Obs: Did you go right on to State University Branch then out of high school?
>
> SS: Well now, when I graduated high school, I went to the Baptist College, junior college, one year, on a football scholarship. The reason is the coach from our little conference down there went up there as head coach. And he wanted me to come up there. And then the second year I moved down to the State University Branch, which was a new school just started, and I went down there on a football scholarship. I played football and basketball.
>
> Obs: All the way through college?
>
> SS: Well, yeah, I graduated in 30 months.
>
> Obs: From the junior college?
>
> SS: Yeah, I really didn't have my senior year. I graduated, I walked across the stage when I was 19, but I guess I was 20 in June.

Playing two major sports on an athletic scholarship and finishing college in less than three years, just before he was twenty, demands a number of talents, one of which is energy.

| Age | Year | Career Item |
|---|---|---|
| 49 | 1979 | Professor of Educational Administration and beginning of a national consulting firm |
| 38 | 1968 | Superintendent of Schools--large city district |
| 37 | 1967 | Director of Private Foundation |
| 36 | 1966 | Assistant Director of Private Foundation |
| 35 | 1965 | Leave of absence to Private Foundation |
| 32 | 1962 | Superintendent of Milford |
| 29 | 1959 | Became Assistant Superintendent of a city district |
| 28 | 1958 | Returned to Elementary Principalship, finished Ed.D. |
| 27 | 1957 | Began Ed.D. at Prestigious Private University |
| 25 | 1955 | Elementary Principal |
| 24 | 1954 | Finished M.A., returned to teaching |
| 23 | 1953 | Discharged, began M.A. in Educational Administration at State University |
| 21 | 1951 | Military Service |
| 20 | 1950 | Graduated, taught high school |
| 18 | 1948 | Transferred to Southwestern State University |
| 17 | 1947 | High school graduation, began higher education in Baptist College |
|  | 1930 | Born in Small Town, Southwestern, U.S.A. |

Figure 2: Synopsis of Spanman's rapid vertically mobile career

A second theme appears in the form of ambition, sponsorship, prestigious schools of education, and the network of education administration in the United States. By attending Eastern University for his Ed.D. Spanman broke into a small prestigious community of educational administration. That group recruits, trains, and places able, young professionals. Further, the group members consult with boards in various ways. The network is broadly located across the country. It has its own norms and beliefs about education, administration, and careers. A brief comment from the interviewee suggests some of these elements and their interrelationships:

> SS: ...they[3] were hired by the Milford Board to select, to screen the superintendent applicants. They came to me and asked me if I would be interested in being considered. In their conversations with me they said it would be a good job for somebody for two to three years.
>
> Obs: They phrased it that way to you?
>
> SS: Yeah, it was a--I was 32 when I went there. They said it would be good for my portfolio. Having been an Eastern University graduate, as you know, you go somewhere three years and you move, you go there three years, and every three years you move. They said that the School Board had taken the key away from the Superintendent. And probably given that kind of a setting you would be chopped up. That is usually what happens to a superintendent when he succeeds somebody who has been around 27 years. McBride had been there for 27 years, had grown up with it, and they explained that the old timers and the newcomers, and all of that bit. Well, the Board, the newcomers had taken over the Board at that point. They said while there would be a lot of give and take, that that would be a good assignment for me, and that I ought to go there for two to three years, and be ready to move. Well, I did, I went there for two to three years, and sure enough I was ready to move. (TI, 1980)

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[3] They refers to the well known superintendents who were hired at the recommendation of an NEA investigator to help clean up a very difficult situation in Milford in which the prior Superintendent, Mr. McBride, had been fired but would not leave, after the first year of a three year contract. Volumes I and II, Chronicling the Milford District, presents the story in detail.

Our point here is relatively simple, but profoundly important. To understand the innovation which was Kensington, one must understand Spanman the Superintendent. To understand him one must understand one of his key reference groups, the select network or community of educational administration which he had joined recently. Figure 3 suggests this strand of events.

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Insert Figure 3 About Here

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Later in the interview we talked a bit more about this network:

> Obs: How do you look at the ten years in Southwestern City, that is, I guess, the longest span you have had anywhere, career wise?
>
> SS: That was the design of course. You go, the way you do it, you go three years, three years, three years, you make about four moves in this business and you are where you are going to be. And, the goal of course is urban education, urban superintendency, and Southwestern City I guess still is the best city school system in the country, and was the best superintendency. A good school system.
>
> Obs: Now you mapped that out three, three, three, ten, whatever, as if you had a little three by five card tucked away somewhere?
>
> SS: No, I didn't, one of my mentors at Eastern University did.
>
> Obs: But was it that conscious of a pattern for you from Small City to Milford? You were thinking along these lines very consistently.
>
> SS: Yeah, I had, you see, when I finished my doctorate at Eastern University, I came back to Little Town, and wrote the dissertation, my project, and so Professor Jones, who was superintendent of schools in Midwest Big City, and then at Washington and then at Private Foundation, was my mentor there. He and Dr. Donaldson then sort of were, they were my sponsors, made sure that I had visibility and they provided the leads. When I finished my dissertation in Little Town the Board offered me the assistant superintendency of personnel, which was a very desirable job. I had been there, you know, in Little Town, we were settled, we had a home there. My wife wanted to stay there, and I was interviewing at New Jersey and Long Island. I turned down a job in Massachusetts. And I was 29 when I went to Southeastern City. Twenty-four or 25 when I went into principalship. I called Dr. Donaldson at Eastern

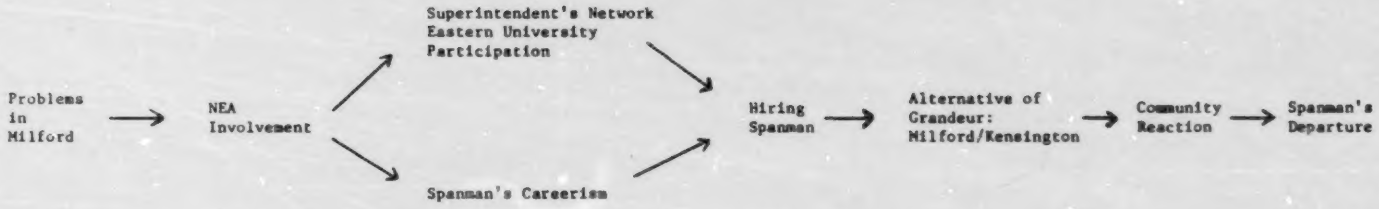
Problems in Milford
NEA Involvement
Superintendent's Network Eastern University Participation
Spanman's Careerism
Hiring Spanman
Alternative of Grandeur: Milford/Kensington
Community Reaction
Spanman's Departure

Figure 3: One Strand of Antecedents of the Kensington Innovation

University, and I said, look, they just offered me this assistant superintendency in Little Town, and he did not let me finish the sentence. He, you know, told me to get out of Little Town, which was the best, or I would still be there probably.

Obs: It would have turned you into a local?

SS: Yeah, I would become an insider, and probably would be superintendent now, in Little Town.

Obs: Talk a little about that network of which Eastern University and Washington, D. C. are obviously part of an access of some kind. The Donaldsons and the...

SS: At that time, Jones and Donaldson. It is Professor Wilson now, Thompson at Western and his predecessor, and whoever it was at Midwestern, pretty much controlled the big cities. They placed half of the big city superintendents, and right now Wilson is taking their place. He was superintendent in New York and has retired this last year from the University. He is a head hunter, and he works, for instance, I worked with him in selecting the Small City superintendent, and since then he has been on the selection committee. He was on the Southwestern City and four other selection committees across the country. That is the way it works.

Obs: Macky (one of Milford's selection committee members) had been part of that sort of thing earlier?

SS: Macky was an insider, and the superintendent of school in the Midwest. He moved from there to superintendent of schools in a large eastern city. He had been president of A.A.S.A. He was a part of the good ole boy network. You have a closed system in the state, and a sort of closed system nationally, and some people stay in the state and some don't.

Obs: And the national network is essentially those four or five prestigious universities?

SS: Yeah, it is, that is the name of the game.

Obs: And you got a vision of Southwestern University becoming one of the prime parts of that now?

SS: Oh, it is possible, but they might, they do a good bit. The guy I am succeeding has named half of the superintendents of the state.

Obs: So he in effect, controls the state.

SS: He controls the state network, and it is possible that I might, you know, move into that area, and have some influence outside the state.

But careers, however rapidly moving, never are content free. Beliefs and ideas arise at different times in one's life and coalesce in unusual ways. The content of the innovation that was to be Kensington seemed shaped in interesting ways as belief systems often are. Consider, for example, several brief comments by Spanman:

> Obs: Were you and your brothers the first really educated, college educated, members of the family?
>
> SS: Yeah, my dad I guess went through sixth grade, and my mother maybe eighth grade...
>
> Obs: How did it happen that you all, I hesitate to use the word, escaped, or plunged into this other particular kind of "crime"?
>
> SS: I'm not sure. If I knew then what I know now, I probably would have stayed on the farm. Well, you know, the farm is a good place. I wish my kids, I wish I could rear my kids on a farm, because I developed some values there that are tough to teach my kids. But it was mainly my mother who served as sort of a model for us. Interestingly I didn't miss a day of school in the first five years. Education was pretty important to my parents.
>
> Obs: Even though they had not had...
>
> SS: Yeah, and we were reared in the depression, and you know, we all had those kinds of problems. Education was the way out, off the farm.

Ostensibly, the discussion shifted to religion, but education, social values, and some of the "mechanisms" holding them together came up:

> Obs: Was religion an important part of the family?
>
> SS: A very important part. It was a typical southern family, you know.
>
> Obs: Baptist...?
>
> SS: Religion, yeah, is there another denomination? (laughter)

Obs: Methodist?

SS: See, religion was the center of the social life in the community. You had the Baptist church on one side, and the Methodist on the other, and so forth. That was it.

Obs: That was an intermarriage in those days.

SS: Yeah, and all of our social life centered around the Church, more than the school for instance, yeah. We have the Church and the school is the same. The superintendent was a Baptist, he was a Deacon, and...

Obs: Teachers probably taught the Sunday School?

SS: They were sort of there together, that is right. They were there, and I could not get by with anything because the Church, the home, and the school sort of formed a triangle, and there was pretty close communications. My cousin taught at school, so the first, her first stop after school would be to go by and visit with my mother. Well, by the time I got home on the bus it was all out.

Obs: What kind of student were you?

SS: A very mischievous, I was a discipline problem, but...

Obs: But always bright enough to stay ahead of the game?

SS: Yeah, I graduated like, there were 17 in the graduating class, and I think I was third or fourth or something like that. I guess two girls and a boy, but I took every course that was offered including shorthand, but I did not take homemaking, that is right.

Obs: That was the curriculum?

SS: That was it.

Obs: Finished high school at 15 or 16?

SS: Yeah, finished high school at 16 I guess.

Obs: So you could not have been all bad as a student in that sense.

SS: Well, yeah, but I just, you know, I got paddled once, I was terrible in my days in junior high, and I got expelled in high school. Sort of like Ralph Tyler was talking to us last week, you know Ralph Tyler?

Obs: Yeah

SS: In 1921, in high school, he got expelled because he put skunk oil in the steam heater. (laughter) And they had to close the school down. They could not stand to be in there.

Obs: They were picky about things like that.

SS: Oh my!

Obs: Now, your educational point of view, perspective probably would be 180 or so degrees from your own experience as a student. What sort of shaped that? I'm just fascinated by how it effects all of us as far as what we believe about teaching, learning, and how children's experiences ought to be shaped. What do you think contributed to your interest in let's say, Milford, and the shape of Kensington?

SS: I don't know. You know, when I went to, got out of college with my bachelor's degree, I was a dogmatic and rigid and all of those things. I went, I taught high school in a nearby town my first year.

Obs: Here in Southwestern State?

SS: Here in Southwestern State, and I said, I had a largely Mexican-American population, down along the river. I taught Algebra I for instance, and I said, so help me God if they make 69 they get an F, and if they make 70 they get a C, you know?

Obs: Seems fair!?!

SS: It seemed fair to me, and I said, by glory, I am here to teach Algebra I, and I started on page one at the beginning of the year, and I ripped off two or three pages a day, and by the end of the year I had covered my textbook. And if they learned fine, and if they didn't, I guess what I'm saying is that in my undergraduate work, everything I had re-enforced my bias about how the world was ordered. I was taught by middle class teachers in a middle class school for middle class kids I guess, using a middle class curriculum. Go out and put forth in that kind of a setting. Now, I taught that way, but it was not that way after I got back from Korea. I got back from service for two years, came to the Southwestern State University, and majored in elementary administration for my Masters, I went out to see the Laboratory School here, and that is where I began to see, well, maybe that is not the way it is stacked up.

Obs: Was that connected with the University?

SS: Yeah, my first, that was my first experience with individual differences.

Obs: Then there wasn't anything about your first year of teaching that sort of jolted you, it was more the seeing of a model back home that provided you with a view that the world could be different?

SS: Yeah, there wasn't any jolt the first year. There was a small community, and everybody's norms were somewhat consistent with mine, and we all lived happily together.

Obs: You paddled as many as the average teacher was supposed to paddle.

SS: No, well yes, in effect I did. I did not have to paddle though. I just walked into the room, and then somehow nobody had a problem with discipline. (laughter) In fact, the principal would have me step...

Obs: Walk into other rooms?

SS: Step across the hall. We had a new teacher, biology teacher next door, who had a problem with discipline, and I would walk across the room, and this was every now and then, and keep them settled down.

Obs: You didn't get paid extra for just looking mean in the halls then? You mentioned earlier that there were some virtues or values, that was the word, that you, that existed on growing up on a farm.

SS: No, they taught us some work ethic. That is pretty good.

Obs: Pure and simple.

SS: Pure and simply. You can't quibble with that.[4]

Obs: No, I have the same disease.

SS: Yeah, I guess I'm like most people during that time, and in the Bible belt, the protestant work ethic.

Obs: But that is the way you conceptualized it to yourself? You mentioned a kind of triangular-cornered, church, home, and school, as an education...

---

[4] A colleague from Milford commented: "He never asked you to do anything he wouldn't do. He was here early in the morning and never left before 5:30."

The small town "poor but decent" family setting interrelated with church and school flowed into an acceptance of the work ethnic. Armed service experience overseas in Korea and a large diverse State University seemed to broaden the horizons in a number of ways.

Our earlier account of Spanman at the Kensington School (Smith and Keith, 1971) and our later description and analysis of the Contemporary Context of Kensington (Volume II) indicates Spanman's strong interest and commitment to technological solutions to educational problems emanating from American business enterprise. His earlier fascination and cathexis on overhead projectors and educational television now had shifted to computers. In addition to the strong technological flavor of the following paragraphs, the equally strong belief in radical solutions to educational problems coupled with the commitment to help the poorer children of our society is highly reminiscent of Spanman's earlier stance in Milford. This theme is developed more completely later under the heading, "Origins and maintenance of educational ideology":

> SS: Yeah, you see, unfortunately the computer will teach far better, some than even the best teacher, and because it will be individualized then there won't be any way to hold back the able student, and because the middle class influence will have access to it and some of the lower class families will not, that means that society will have to mount a massive effort to have equality.
>
> Obs: These available in the churches, in the community centers, etc.?
>
> SS: You will issue one just like you issue a telephone, but if the parents are not there, then what do you do? Well, you have to have parent surrogates. Every child has the right to have an adult advocate. So what we will do is make sure that every kid has an adult advocate who does this.
>
> Obs: That's a tough one.

SS: That's a tough one because that will increase the discrepancy rather than decrease it, and the schools have been very effective in reducing the discrepancies, but when you take the wraps off...

Obs: It really makes education, which has been one of the last socialist holdouts, respond to free enterprise?

SS: It is going to personalize it for the first time, and it is going to decentralize it. No longer will 600 kids have to come to a Eugene Shelby School to get the basic skills. There will be several options that they have.

Obs: Do you see competency, I may be plowing old ground, do you see competency based on other areas of that kind as measures, ways of measuring learning that may also help break the hold schools have? That now you not only have a technology, but you have a vehicle that people can achieve ends and point to the school or the state, whoever it is, that is certifying the state?

SS: Yeah, it is an over simplification, but for the first time, see, we will be able to join accountability and execution. Put $3.00 in here, and you get $4.00 out down here, and we will be able to measure effects in about half of what we are teaching. We won't be able to hoodwink our public anymore.

Obs: So the usual measures of quality having to do with number of hours and numbers of days and number of credits will tend to disappear?

SS: Yeah, see, that is what we have done in effect. We have a good handle on the inputs. We can talk to you for days about costs per pupil, library books per pupil. The whole bit. Cost per square foot. We have very little information as to what these inputs produce in terms of output. So for the first time now we will be taking some output measures relating them to inputs, and determining which treatment is most effective, most most effective. Yeah, it is going to make a big change. In fact, that is one of the things that we are working with in a district now. We have a contract to put their 400 reading objectives on the computer, davelop criterion referenced tests to each of those objectives. The kids in effect are pre-tested to determine what their instructional level is. The computer then will print out three or four prescriptions for the teacher that could be used in treating the child, on objective 301 of your post test, and it prints out where the child is, what he has missed or what he hasn't, and it sends on the note to the parents saying your child has mastered these but not the others. It is managing the process. Managing curriculum.

Obs: Which is in a sense what the IPI people in math for instance, wanted to do but didn't have the technology really to...

SS: Didn't have the technology, that is right, and as a result, overburdened the teacher. Now, for the first time, we have got something that will help the teacher. It takes that paper work away from the teacher. That is the big computer, the main frame, but then the key is once the prescription is printed out for this, in other words, the prescription for syllabication or some other word attack skill, there would be five ways that teachers in this district have found are effective in teaching syllabication. One of those five may well be the micro. One may be the text book, etc.. It will also do an inventory of all the materials that are available to the school and the school system.

Obs: I have been wanting to relook at Illich's notion of resource network and so on, you know, he spoke about the computer capabilities. I don't know if anyone has gone back to look at that again with the real capability of a micro. But that seems to have tremendous possibilities to be able to match up resources networks that existed in a school. You were mentioning modes of learning, community kinds of resources.

Obs: Is the group you are working with, are they accessing libraries so that you can get printouts of books and materials and that kind of thing at this point? Because some years ago, some guy named Platt who was writing about the possibility of eventually of storing everying that is in the Library of Congress on a disk.

SS: We don't have that capacity now. We will have it. You know, and just like the lawyer now is able to access all of the cases on left handed people who were fired on the 29th of May. Instead of doing all of that library research, you just push a button and there it is. It prints out, and that would be available to us much more cost effectively than it has been. The key to the micro is the cost. We have all dreamed about CAI, but it has only been available to very few. Plato costs, Plato, that is the big one, costs about $12.00 a student hour. Pat Suppe's mini computers cost about $2.00 a student hour. We are generating programs now that cost 30¢ a student hour, cost about $2.00 a student hour per teacher. It is more cost effective than a teacher, and as the cost, inflationary costs go up 15% a year, the cost of micro is going down. In 1990 it will be three times as productive as what you see in there, at half the cost. Simply, the way things are going we are going to become a more balanced industry between labor and capital. Labor intensified industries are not going to survive, and unless educators perceive this then we are in trouble. So you will have a

> Kensington type of school with three or four master teachers, with four or five regular teachers, with a bunch of technology and aids.
>
> Obs: So in a sense that part of the Kensington dream, the nerve center, which was a part of that school, which at that time was tape recorders and art and some TV. In a sense, the idea was 15 or 20 years ahead of its time, and partly lacked the key computer component.
>
> SS: That is right. It is wired, and that school is designed to accommodate the micro and the network cable. See, at that school, you would have walls that are adjustable and at will and at once, you have got cables, runners, the whole thing. It would accommodate the micro.
>
> Obs: Still, now, after 15 or 20 years.
>
> SS: Yeah.

The absorption in the future, in new ideas, in the possibilities of technological breakthroughs, remain with Spanman. Spelling out visions, making myths, remains a large part of creativity and charisma. They have not deserted him. Now it's the possibilities in computers. These concerns are important not only as issues in beliefs about educational goals and educational means. In the context of the career analysis we are making, it is one more instance of Spanman placing himself at the "cutting eduge," "in the forefront" of the educational action.

In concluding, several key elements stand out. Spanman is, and has been, a bright, high achieving, high energy kind of man. His talent and energy took him to prestigious Eastern University, where he found the national "network" of educational administrators. Spanman's comments are important here and they integrate with our more district centered narrative in Volumes I and II on the historical and contemporaneous context of the Milford District. Conflict in the Milford District in 1961-62 was so severe, that the Board tried to fire Superintendent

McBride. In a series of actions by the local C.T.A., the N.E.A. Professional Affairs unit sent two investigators to Milford. One of their recommendations was to have several prestigious outside superintendents interview and screen candidates for a short list. One of these men was Dr. Macky mentioned by Spanman in the interview.

The centrality of strong Bible Belt conservative Baptist religion appeared early in his life and has stayed in prominence. Later, we will have more extended comments on "educational reform as secularized religion." The potency of this early religious experience is one of the most surprising findings of the study.

Interestingly also, and not elaborated enough in our interview, are his brief comments about the Laboratory School at Southwestern University. Here was his first image of "individual differences", one of the intellectual cornerstones of the new elementary education. Later, at Eastern University and with national consultants, it would be rationalized, deepened, and articulated. But the point here, and a very tentative one, is the need to rethink the nature and role of University Lab or Demonstration Schools in what seems to be a generally negative view of their importance. If we heard Spanman correctly, this one was one of those critical incidents in his career. Additionally, Spanman's emphasis upon the Laboratory experience coupled with his graduate work as a major influence challenges the usual negativism associated with university based advanced course work as change agents. Spanman, by his own admission, did not have his previous conceptions of education challenged by either his pre-service training or his initial year of teaching. As we shall see in a similar case with Shelby, both men had their educational "re-birth" during a second teaching experience rather than during the so-called "critical" first year of teaching. The nature of the teaching experience rather than its sequence appears to be the important variable.

These aspects of Spanman's career are summarized in Figure 4.

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Insert Figure 4 About Here

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From our other data, essentially Superintendent agendas and school board minutes, we elaborated in Volume II on the dimensions of proactive, cosmopolitan, imaginative educator and practical reasoner. None of these adjectives conflict with the data presented here. In addition we spoke of Spanman's fascination with technology--then it was educational television and overhead projectors. Now he's into micro computers. Underlying these is an early 20th century faith in technology solving basic problems of education and American society. Boorstin (1973), if he had described educators in his account of "the go-getters", might well have been talking about a latter day Steven Spanman:

> The years after the Civil War when the continent was only partly explored were the halcyon days of the Go-Getters. They went in search of what others had never imagined was there to get. The Go-Getters made something out of nothing, they brought meat out of the desert, found oil in the rocks, and brought light to millions. They discovered new resources, and where there seemed none to be discovered, they invented new ways of profiting from others who were trying to invent and to discover...All over the continent--on the desert, under the soil, in the rocks, in the hearts of cities--appeared surprising new opportunities. (pp. 3-4)

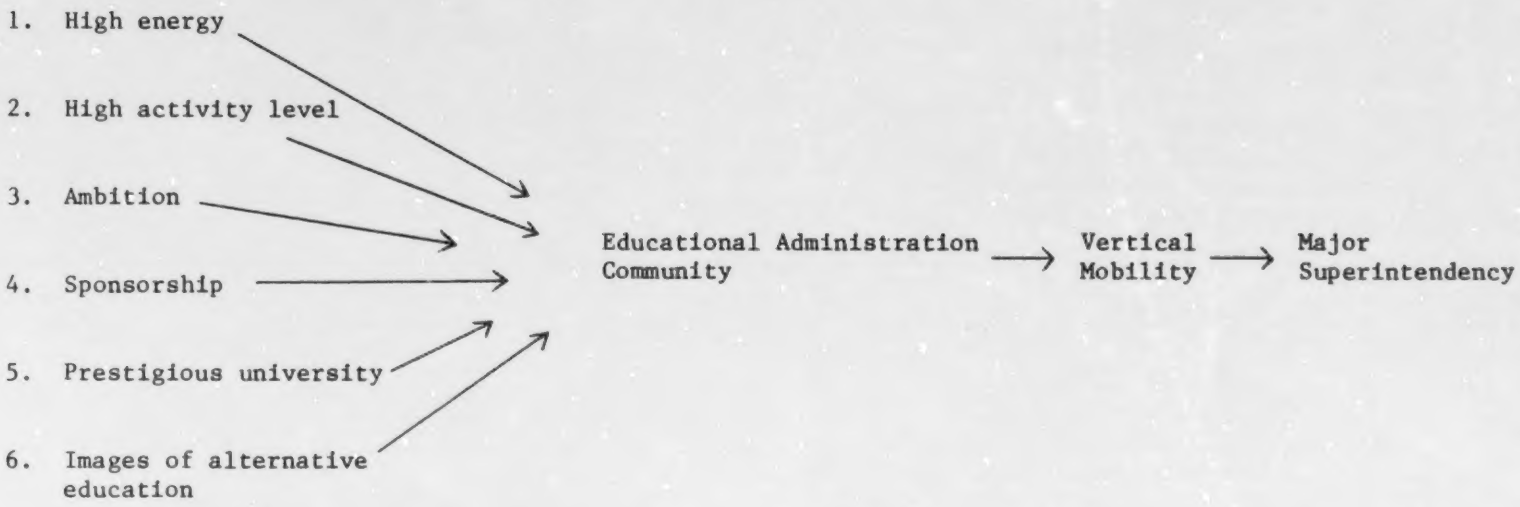
1. High energy
2. High activity level
3. Ambition
4. Sponsorship
5. Prestigious university
6. Images of alternative education
Educational Administration Community
Vertical Mobility
Major Superintendency

Figure 4: Aspects of Spanman's Vertically Mobile Career

## 2.12 Jerl Cohen: Milford's Curriculum Director

Initially we had thought to present similar details on each of the three administrators. As we wrestled with the dilemma of organization here and elsewhere we resolved the conflict with a brief summary paragraph or two and a figure suggesting aspects of their career lines. More detailed accounts of Shelby and Cohen will be in other sections illustraing other main themes, with the career data supplementing and enriching the discussion under focus.

Jerl Cohen, Curriculum Director and Assistant Superintendent at Milford for two years, perhaps more than any other member of the group of teachers and administrators, fits the picture of a typically, very successful, academic man in professional education. His career had a wrinkle or two which seem critically related to his role as an educational innovator. The traditional part is an A.B., M.S., and Ph.D (at 29 years) with concomitant experience of three years as a teacher and one year as a principal in small town schools and one year as Director of Research and Guidance in the central office of a suburban school district before coming to Milford as Director of Curriculum. By his account, those years were filled with his radicalism and with prickly relationships with superiors. As with Spanman, he was a young man in a hurry, once he had begun, after a lay over of a couple of years between high school and college.

He left Milford, the same year Spanman took a year's leave of absence, for a fellowhip in Washington, D.C. and then spent several years at one of the major Research and Development Centers working on problems of curriculum, open education, and educational innovation.

That experience, and the related publications, qualified him for an Associate Professorship in Education at Eastern State University. Three years later he returned to the midwest for a professorship and department chairmanship in a College of Education. After a half dozen years, he assumed his present position as Dean of a School of Education in a State University.

It's difficult to know where to begin, even for a brief commentary. Perhaps it's best to indicate that our (the researchers) paths have crossed more with Jerl Cohen's than anyone else from Milford/Kensington. We have mutual professional friends in the innovation community or subgroup of A.E.R.A. and related professional organizations. We have talked qualitative research methodology, graduate student research, and issues growing out of Complexities and Anatomy. We have traded prepublication manuscripts. So the interview was between old, knowledgeable, professional colleagues. "Researcher and subject" would not be a comfortable label for either of us, although interviewer and interviewee might be. The open ended quality of the style and the setting produced 65 single spaced pages of his intelligence, wit, cynicism, devastating stories of the educationally rich and famous, and insightful analyses of contemporary education, of reform and innovation in curriculum and school organization, and of American Society.

Cohen's career sequence raised a number of interpretive items, initially anomalies that became patterns as they are repeated throughout our data. First, he was one of the people who traveled from coast to coast on fellowships, major innovation projects, and good university positions, yet he returned home. His deanship is in the city where he grew up and at the institution where he did his undergraduate study, and where he began his twenty year odyssey or pilgrimage. That choice of words, odyssey as a long wandering of series of travels, reminiscent of Odysseus wanderings on his homeward journey from Troy, or pilgrimage, a long weary journey, as a devout seeker to a shrine, is not clear. Perhaps it is both.

Second, there is the observation that Jerl Cohen is part of a network or a sub community of educational innovators and reformers who are in contact with one another. He heard about the post Kensington Fellowship from Dr. Leslie Roberts, one of the year long consultants to the Kensington School. During the year he worked with people he had known from earlier projects through a nationally known and active educator who had been a professor of his, during his graduate studies. The group reads like a Who's Who in this part of American Education. Later he joined that Research and Development setting for four years. Then he had two university stints before becoming dean.

Third, other than to indicate he stayed with the intellectual issues, this is not the place to entertain the long convoluted analyses he made off the top of his head about the array of beliefs about the new elementary education. A brief excerpt of his comments, partly tongue-in-cheek and partly serious, capture the quality of his reflections:

> Out of that conference, came the concept of team teaching, but team teaching was never...there was never a conference called on team teaching. It was called on how to improve teaching. Out of that conference came the concept of team teaching and Larry Trump wrote that awful book, although it may have been defensible for the time. The idea was thirty percent of the time we'd be in large groups, a la Lancaster...twenty percent of the time

we'd be in small groups, and thirty percent of the time we'd be in some other kind of groups, you know. So team teaching is a method of improving teachers. Now when we got it in 1965 there or there abouts, in Milford, we were seeing it as a method of school organization primarily, not as a method for improving teaching. But what it did was contribute to the chaos of Kensington. If it hadn't been for that damn innovation, the teachers would have at least been in self-contained classrooms and the chaos would have been reduced significantly in the school. Certainly in September, October, November, and December the chaos would have been controllable. Now, all of the advantages that we had for team teaching were not valid. I have come all the way from believing in team teaching to, at this day, I believe in the self-contained classroom and the reason I believe in the self-contained classroom, we used to go from...the reason I believe in it is because it has the best method of school organization for the individualization of instruction. And I consider the individualization of instruction to be the most important concept that we are dealing with in any level of education. The self-contained classroom allows a teacher to be with a manageable group of kids for a thousand hours. During that period of time, she can at least get to know something about them, their names, their boy friends, girl friends, brothers, sisters, mothers, fathers, and something about their ability in mathematics, the three R's, and social ability.

Now what they had at Kensington was this menagerie of people thrown together and all of us supported it. I supported it, but I would never have supported a self-contained classroom under any circumstance. In fact, it was a late concession, you'll recall...late in the year...where they allowed the one lady to go into a self-contained classroom and that was largely because she wanted a self-contained classroom but then they later conceded that the kids kind of wanted a self-contained classroom too, remember that concession that was made?

All I would argue for now is teams of two teachers, I wouldn't really argue for the self-contained classroom. I'd argue for teams of two teachers working together in a multi-age group. You have a team of two teachers so you could indeed have an inter-change of ideas and the planning and you'd have multi-age grouping to break down the graded structure because non-gradedness and individualization instruction are concepts that are, to my knowledge, have withstood the test of time, whatever they mean. Now see, paradoxically, team teaching had to have--was only once defined and that was by Shaplin and Olds and it was not much of a definition at all. The only definition that's worth a damn was one proposed by Bob Anderson when he was at Harvard and that has about seven criteria of team teaching. All of which essentially say, and I've forgotten the seven criteria although I could dredge them up, all of

> which say--all seven of them say we plan together. So team teaching is not an organizational structure at all. It's just--it's planning lessions together, talking about kids and all that.
>
> Now I did a study on team teaching later when I was at the University. In that study I found that they--all they did--all the teams did was to talk about where to place kids rather than talking about kids. And there's a big difference. Instead of talking about Sally and the problems Sally is having, which is what should be taking place at elementary schools, staff meetings should be places when you talk about Sally and Harold and that kind of thing, instead in teams they talk about where to put people with Sally's problems together and so team teaching has, of course, died, you know, pretty much. And it's died because it's not manageable. (TI, 1979)

While Spanman "reformed" the public schools through direct action as an educational politician and administrator, Cohen stayed with the issues as an intellectual problem for over a decade. He wrote several books and research monographs and a couple dozen related journal articles. In addition he consulted on Title III Projects and gave speeches to various educational groups. University teaching and eventually innovative administration became his career. The blend of true belief, occupation, and ascerbic wit is caught in one set of remarks in his continued struggle with liberal causes even while returning to the friendly confines of the home community:

> JC: We still have what is referred to here as Nigger town...was when I was there and still is, amazing! The grade point average (for Blacks) is 1.87 according to the Vice Chancellor and they just instituted a policy that I opposed....I think I was the only opposing vote in all of Central City...which would increase the standards at the University from no standards to something like if you have a 1.5 for three semesters you're not allowed to enroll again. I would like to see anything done that would increase the number of Black population on campus and I thought the word would get out that we all of a sudden had standards and to confirm that my suspicions were true...that it was a poor policy...the local newspaper came out in favor of it so that was irreconcilable proof that it's a poor idea...

> Obs: You were the only one voting against that increase in standards?
>
> JC: I argued for two hours in the deans' council meeting and the arguments I heard were the same ones I've heard for 25 years...which had almost no merit at all...the strange paradox is, and this is one of my latest deals, is that the...if students fail in class it's as much...it's the fault of the system...not the fault of the student and so paradoxically here we're talking about high standards...there was no discussion of the fact that the reason the students were doing poorly is because we give them a C-professor, which is about what we have...we give them a textbook by a...someone...the reading level is two or three years advanced from theirs... which seems to be of no concern to any professor...we have no programmed instruction...we have them all take the same test ...we don't have differentiated tests....we don't have differentiated rates...then you say we're going to have high standards...well, why shouldn't there be some discussion of the weakness of the system to supply adequate resources.
> (TI, 1979)

The vividness and passion expressed are a clear indication of his continued commitment to reform in the education of poor and minority students.

## 2.13 Eugene Shelby: Kensington's Principal

On the surface, Shelby's career is less dramatic than Spanman's or Cohen's. Yet, in some very significant aspects that would be a misconstrual. Eugene was a true believer and a man of social action:

> ES: Okay, I think that was described in your book as searching for the holy grail.[5] (laughter)
>
> Obs: Alright, yes.
>
> Obs: Do you recall that term?

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[5] As we reread our interviews, we have been struck with the importance of Rob Walker's observation "Case study research is an intervention, and often an uncontrolled intervention, in the lives of others." (1983, p. 156) Shelby's several references to the search for the holy grail indicated that one of our "insights" had been telling and long lasting.

> Obs: Yeah, I do (laughter)
>
> ES: And I have not reviewed that for a long, long time either, but I remember that because I think it is true. I have spent several more periods of my life searching for the holy grail, until I finally gave up.

Shelby left Kensington, mid-semester in the Spring of 1966, at the invitation of a close friend of Steven Spanman's. It was an unusual time to leave. It was a return to his home state where he had grown up, done his undergraduate and graduate work. It was also to an unusual position, as Director of PS 2100, a School of the Future.

Perhaps even more critically than a futurist school it also involved Eugene in another round of the most difficult kind of innovation, institution building. The elements were these:

1) the school was a part of a larger Hispanic/American Center
2) it had multiple sources of funding including Title III monies of the recently passed E.S.E.A.
3) it was just beginning, Eugene was the first person hired by the overall director
4) the local city public schools was the fiscal agent
5) a number of local and state political figures were involved
6) eventually it would have its own legally constituted board of directors

Educators involved in starting Research and Development Centers and Regional Educational Laboratories will recognize the issues and the difficulties.

Eugene's introductory comments were these:

> As the idea progressed, they came up with the idea of creating more than just a school and coming with the whole center --they called it Hispanic-American Educational Center--which would take over all of the facilities that could be used by them, and would have a number of major components. It was

> really a grandiose scheme and I think it grew from an initial conception of about four components to maybe even eight or ten. One component was to be a Regional Laboratory, one component was to be a Cultural Center, Hispanic-American Cultural Center, patterned after the East-West Center in Hawaii. I know the mayor and some of our Board members went to Hawaii to visit that. One component was PS 2100, The School of the Future, and another component was to be an Administrative Services component. The State at the same time had passed legislation to create a number of regional education service centers.

Later he continued in almost clasic understatement of the kinds of problems one faces in building innovative institutions:

> Anyway, the main task was to get continued funding. See, that was I guess, a one year grant, so then we had to develop a proposal for, you know, the second and third year funding and the strategy for doing that so that it embraced this total umbrella. It was left as a school of the future project, but each component of this whole center then, had to be related to the School of Future in some way, and so I guess most of our time at first was spent just trying to get the proposal to get funding for the second year. And also trying to find some kind of a suitable legal basis for the center that would qualify us to obtain funding. We felt that we might be able to get both private funding as well as public funding. Well, that was no small matter. Because there was not much precedent for something like that to have any kind of tax funding. Ultimately what happened is that it just appeared more and more that the only viable approach was for us to become the Regional Educational Service Center. The state legislature had created a number of these. In most cases they did convert an existing Title III project, which, if you will recall Title III, was for innovative programs and supplementary education centers. There were a few of these in places around the state. I think they created the Regional Education Centers, not just from nothing, but in most cases they took existing Title III projects, and redirected them. So, I think I was the first to recognize that, in a way, there would never be a School of the Future as such, because when you become a Regional Educational Service Center you are not there to put your major effort into funding a show place school. You are there to give service. And the government, or the charter as you will, the legal charter for the organization has to determind its function to a great extent. I remember that there were some hard times, some low spots when we were arguing, you know, in what direction are we going to go, and I remember the director at times would give speeches

> to the superintendents in which he would say, "Now what can you do for the center?" Hey, what a minute, the question should be, "What can we do for them."

In the course of shifting political winds, whims of funding agencies, and the "normal" battles of people with strong but varying interests, the entire idea was transformed, including Eugene's role as Director of PS 2100:

> They did have a School of the Future as one of their plans, but they opted not to go with that, but to go with a structure that they felt was flexible, actually two structures. They felt like it would be flexible enough that it could be converted. But anyway, the kind of funding that we were able to even begin to anticipate would not even have paid the utility bill for all of this. So it also became very obvious that we would never inherit those facilities. It became the Regional Educational Center, and our titles then changed. By the way, by title changed from Director of the School of the Future to Director of the School of the Future Services, or something like that. And I would tell people that, hey, we are not going to have a School of the Future, but one of our functions is to help the school districts that we serve look at various innovative practices, and help them to become the schools of the future. This was instead of having a School of the Future.

Career progress is a mix, or tangle, of multiple influences. In Shelby's case, a "simple" move across the state contained these aspects:

> I was there I guess about two and one half years or three. Two and one half I guess. And then I was approached--you know that I had finished all but my dissertation at the University--The Regional Educational Center located in the same city was just getting started. The executive director had been employed, and through my major professor, he heard of me and came down and asked me if I would be assistant director of the Center, which would then give me an opportunity to work on my dissertation. I was ready for a change, because things were really not working out too well, and so I was about the third person that they employed in the Center here. So in a way, I helped to establish the center there, and then I came to help establish the one here. I suspect that my first boss was pretty glad to see me leave.

> I was not being very productive, you know, I didn't feel good. Just looking back on my own feelings, and I think this is fairly significant, I felt like I was a voice of rationality in that organization, and felt that I probably did a lot of what had to be done, so in a sense I felt success, but in another sense I felt failure. Failure in that it was not what I wanted to do, and failure that things did not work out the way I wanted them to. I did not find the holy grail there (laughter). And so I was to come here, and my role here was going to be pretty much working with selected school principals in a comprehensive school improvement program, to, here again, help them find the holy grail. Now, you know very well the dedication that I have to what I have called an alternative model to education or to, you know, creating new models, not just incremental school improvement, but, you know, massive restructuring of the school. And that sounded awfully appealing to me, and so I came up here. I think I came, I think I took the job in the spring maybe, but I have forgotten whether I came in April or what, but anyway, June was when I really started on the job. I had a kind of intensive workshop for about ten or twenty principals, and the whole focus was going to really be on working with some selected schools here.

Shelby's quest for the holy grail continued. Along the way, in the pursuit, he raised questions which we believe remain fundamental in the organizational analysis of innovation:

> ES: But I really thought that the idea, okay, I still think that my ideas about schools have a lot of merit. I thought, okay, I have been through it, and instead of, you know, my trying to be principal of just one school to do something, it would really be a lot more productive and have a lot more benefit if I could indeed work with several schools and have them do some things. I was pretty optimistic about it. Here again, searching for the hold grail. It was really a disappointing thing for me. First there is the question of can a public school district really allow a school to be different. That was one of the issues in Milford. It was an issue with the School of the Future, you know, while we had the idea. And there was an issue here. You know, the superintendents would say, "Hey, this is a good idea. Yeah we would like to get some of our principals in your summer workshop, and we would like to do some things, help them to be more innovative, and get some good programs going." And yet there was not the real support. And if we let them do something different, what is that going to do to the other schools? That was an issue. We were not very selective in the people

that got into the program. I'm not sure that we communicated very well to them what it was for. And I wasn't very good, as I was trying to be a one man show, which was a real mistake. I did a lot of sermonizing, looking back on it, I think, but we had some things going for us too. I did have some good people there. You know, I planned things out pretty well. But, I remember on one occasion--and I think this kind of describes what I was up against --one of the activities that I involved these principals in was, one of the things that we needed to do is, to be pretty clear about what it is we are trying to do. You know, just have some objectives. If you want a school to do something, you have to be clear about what you want it to do. I said schools have been so means-oriented that we have not really zeroed in on what it is we are trying to accomplish. Until we do that, we are not going to do it very well. So I had them engage in an exercise to articulate their objectives. I remember one of the participants finally came up with the objective so that at the end of the year all the kids on each grade level would be at the same achievement level. I was really disappointed.

Obs: That did not fit too well with your goals?

ES: We want to narrow the range of individual differences? It just really depressed me.

Eugene finished his story of his post Kensington experiences with an account of his return to a principalship:

ES: Anyway, I told you I kept asking the question, "What is it that I really want to do?" And the answer for a long time was "nothing." And finally it was, "I want to get back into the school and be a principal."

Obs: Would it be profitable at this point to go back and pick up how you got into the field of education? That kind of thing?

ES: No. Let me tell you about one last period, and that is here at my present school. So let me go ahead and do that.

Obs: Sure.

ES: Well, I told you I asked myself what I wanted to do, and I said I wanted to be a principal. So I was back to pursuing the hold grail, and it was a very interesting kind of thing. This school was one year old; they had many problems. They had a petition to get rid of the principal. The director of elementary education told me when I was employed for this school that he had never had a school with problems like that. He said he had to go out personally and do fire fighting. I came out here, and indeed it was a--menagerie is not the right word--it was a real challenge. I was say that. It seemed like it was just froth with interpersonal conflict.

Obs: In just one year? Because the School was just one year old.

ES: Well, the community was a new community also. Everyone was fighting every one else.

Obs: Where did the teachers, were they drawn from previous locations, or were they rather new to each other?

ES: They were new to each other. I don't blame all the problems on the previous principal at all. I think he made a lot of mistakes, but I think he was put into an impossible situation. I don't think they did any kind of planning for this school, other than to get the building built, and I think they employed him at the last minute. And I think they took teachers from other schools and in some cases there was some dumping of bad teachers.

Obs: Like principals getting rid of the bad teachers?

ES: Yeah, and he didn't have any time to work with them. From the word go the school was over-crowded and he was having to fight those battles. Because it was viewed as a small school he was principal of this school and another school, so, you know, he was divided there. The school was not adequately staffed at all. And the fact is that this had been a rural area which had started becoming a suburban area. And there was some conflict between the old timers and new comers I guess. But essentially it was people who did not know each other. And teachers that did not know each other. And more and more I am finding that having people who don't know each other creates a lot of mistrust. Maybe there was a time in our society when you were innocent until proven quilty, but I think that is gone. I think that now, you know, if parents don't know the teacher, it is amazing to me how many times the parents may believe something just preposterous about a teacher if they don't know the person. If they know the person they would know that it was not true, but just getting communication going is the main thing. I spent most of my time that first year handling crises. And I worked long, long hours. I suspect that I averaged 12 hour days. On a few occasions--well, the second year I was out here, right before school opened up I came out Sunday morning and school was going to open on Monday morning. Teachers had reported to work two to three days before that and we had registration. I came out Sunday morning and stayed here until Monday morning at 6:00, went home and took a shower, and ate breakfast and came back and then the school opened. There were several times that I worked all night long. There are times that I would come at midnight and stay until the next day at 5:00 or 6:00.

Obs: Doing what kinds of things?

ES: Well, the time I just told about was trying to straighten out all the registration stuff, but other times it was just trying to get some of my desk work done because I knew that during the day it was going to be one problem after another that I had to deal with. I also had the motivation to do all of this too. But things started straightening out well. The, here again, you know, the grand design—did we ever call it that at Kensington?

Obs: No, we had not put that label alternative of grandeur on things.

ES: Okay, well with the School of the Future, we called it the "grand design," I believe. So anyway the assistant superintendent here said he thought IGE was a good program. I had never heard of IGE. But he described it to me, and I said, "HA, the grand design." To a great extent, the concepts of it were at least congruent with my views and I thought well, that is the way it goes. So they were going to seclect X number of city schools to go into IGE, and part of that was getting the faculty to vote on it and to agree to it, and so that is the way we did it here. We decided that we would go into that. And we did. That decision was made late in my first year. We had parent meetings to get them involved with it, all the stuff to get people turned on about it. By that summer there were school board meetings on it. I remember the assistant superintendent explaining it to the school board but they didn't seem to understand it. And by that time it was obvious that one of the board members was at war with the superintendent, and at war with, attacking the open space schools, attacking anything, and it kind of reminded me a little bit of Milford. I don't know how much you kept up with all the politics in that district, but you may recall that there was one board member who became at odds with Spanman, and just over a period of time built up the opposition to the point of changing that situation. Well, it almost reminded me of the same thing.[6] (TI, 1979)

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[6] That political story is one of the major issues in Volume II of our Kensington Revisited project.

The Board, the Superintendent, and the Central Office continued in conflict--in general and over IGE, Individually Guided Education. An "independent evaluation" was begun by the Board. Shelby finished his story:

> But anyway, that gave powder for the cannons, to do away with IGE, so the edict came out that we would no longer be IGE schools, and that we would no longer use that label. I guess that happened the end of the second year. This was the second year of the program, which would be my third year. But we were told that the good concepts of IGE should be continued. Well, of course that varied from school to school. So we did not change any of our practices immediately, although ultimately we did. I guess more important than anything else was the psychological let-down for the teachers, and for me to some extent. Although that did not bother me, you know, dropping that label did not bother me so much, but just the feeling that, well, here was something that we had worked our fool heads off for, and instead of getting any things for it, now we have to, you know, in fact act like we had never heard of it. So that certainly destroyed the Hawthorne effect of it. I guess I also have come to feel that, by and large, people are not ready for the complexities of some of the things that I really believe in. Which makes me wonder more about the Kensington staff, by the way. To me, we didn't know how to do it. We made a lot of mistakes, but there was a commitment there. And here, even in IGE, a lot of that commitment I did not find. Some of the things, you know, you would just relax and find they are pretty simple, but people make it very complex and impossible and say, "No we can't do that." This is getting into another issue, but I feel like it is a conceptual problem that we have locked outselves into--like the whole bit about grade levels, gradedness. I'm still amazed sometimes at the simplistic view people have of that. Sometimes teachers and frequently parents and school districts--anyway, we gradually moved away from IGE. I guess what I mean to say is that I finally gave up, and this is from pursuing the hold grail, and content myself to just run a good school--whatever that means.

The play of belief systems, not only never quite goes away but it becomes integral to a larger professional self-conception:

> Obs: I guess the--I wanted to pick up--you talked several times about the holy grail, now, how it shifted, and you said you finally gave up on it.

ES: Maybe I found it (laughter). You know...

Obs: Well, go ahead. Has it shifted over time, or is it as simple as saying I finally gave up on it?

ES: Well, I read an article in a journal--this is after Kensington--I think it was while I was working here and trying to help principals find the holy grail too. But this article was on change, it was talking about back when they were using oil lamps, that someone invented a better wick, somebody improved the fuel, so it might improve this or that. But it was still a very different matter when they invented the incandescent lamp, which was a totally different kind of lamp. I guess what that illustrates really is I think there is a term, incremental change, as opposed to quantum change or the big leap or whatever. I really believed, and I still do, that this is need for--well, a revolution, as opposed to evolution another way you might say it--but some basic changes in the whole fabric of the way schools operate. Now, I really believed that and I still believe that. Now that is my holy grail.

Obs; So it is still there, but at...

ES: But at the same time I recognize that there is such a thing as creating better wicks and better fuels, and that you can have some traditional schools that are good or some, you know, that are better than others, and that maybe the best we can hope for is the incremental improvements.

Obs: But that you see as a sort of a realistic appraisal rather than a change in...

ES: I'm learning how to be satisfied with it I suppose.

Obs: A half loaf?

ES: Yeah, and just feel that, you know, you are accomplishing something even when you just run a good school.

And what does the future hold? Shelby, in good humor, commented once more:

> But the crazy thing is that I don't even run this school anymore, the assistant principal does. Of course, I had a lot to do with getting her. But when I come to work, I'm usually late, I never get here early--I stay here pretty late most of the time, but after just really striving to get this school off the ground, it is really strange to see. It leaves me feeling almost uneasy, you know, but...

> Obs: It runs itself in effect?
>
> ES: Yeah, and the paperwork that I don't get done, doesn't seem to hurt anything, so (laughter), well, I will leave it long enough and--you see all those papers stacked up over there that I'm supposed to deal with? By this summer, when I finally get to go through them, it is amazing how many of them can go right in there without making any difference at all.
>
> Obs: The tape would indicate that he is pointing to the wastebasket provided by public school funds (laughter).
>
> ES: I have become very active in professional organizations. I'm the current incoming president of the City Administrators Association, and have spent probably more time on that during the past year. Well, I started to say more time on that than I have in the school, but that is not quite true either. Although it probably absorbs more of my interest than the school does.

## 2.14 Tentative Conclusions

A number of conclusions stand out from these brief accounts of our three administrators. Perhaps the most important item, in a profession now so full of "doom and gloom", is the truly exciting, rewarding, and satisfying careers open to at least a few teachers who have opportunity, talent, creativity, energy. As our summary chart indicates, the interplay of academic life in the University and rough and tumble administrative action represents an enviable blend in an educational life career. These men are in their early fifties now. Plenty of time exists for the itch to strike again. Spanman talks of a prestigious national consulting organization, Shelby is spending considerable time in district politics, and Cohen is barely into his Deanship. Whether any or all of the three actually do enter into another round of highly innovative leadership remains to be seen. Consistent with our analysis, we would argue the answer will be determined by the unique blend of individual, situational, and life history events which surround each of the actors.

A related generalization concerns the mix of action and intellectual life. Both Spanman and Cohen have written a number of essays and each has authored or coauthored a book or two. Much of the writing has been "off their experience" rather than more formal educational research that comes from experiments, surveys, or historical analyses as done in the academy. For better or worse, and we will return to the issue of for better or worse shortly, these men are doing, reflecting, writing (and some might argue propagandizing), and then redoing the cycle. The interplay among common sense, action, experience, reflection, and later, altered common sense and action, we believe, at root, is raising major epistemological questions.[7]

A third generalization qualifies Becker's position on horizontal versus vertical mobility in educational careers. Innovators, males, and or administrators of high ability have strong vertical career lines. They seem more like business managers and professionals in other occupations. Warner and Abegglen's (1955) Big business leaders in America seem cut from the same cloth. They are men on the move, "go getters" to reuse Boorstin's label (1973).

"Sponsorship" is a concept from Warner and Abegglen. It has been important for these individuals. Within a corporation, Kanter (1977) speaks of "alliances" as one of the routes to power. This seems a similar to what we are calling "collegial networks", except her term reflects her focus on a single corporation, Indsco. An older and broader concept is network, club, old school ties. A number of informal subsystems exist in professional education. Spanman particularly, but Cohen and Shelby also, moved through linkages within the educational innovation community.[8] The educational administration network is legion. Spanman's comments give particular and important meaning to its reality. The extension and integration of the sponsorship phenomenon to the group or network phenomenon seems a major advance over the earlier conceptualization.

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[7] For instance, Smith (1981) has developed in part from Kensington Revisited a proposal for a new piece of research, "The knowledge of common sense and science in educational theory, research, and practice."

Finally, the three administrators remain as true believers. The broad belief system which we called "the new elementary education", commitments to individualized education, equality, and full development of individual potential remains with each of our administrators. The persuasiveness and staying power of belief systems is a major addition to current discussions of educational innovation and reform. The current data enhance two generalizations made earlier. First,

> ...commitment was to the movement for the new elementary education, and Kensington was an important but temporary training ground, a step for many of the staff as they searched to create careers as professional innovators. Commitment was to issues and ideas as well as to anything as place-bound as the generation of social structure of a beginning, fledgling organization. The ideas were portable, applicable elsewhere, and the educational world was waiting.
> (Smith and Keith, 1971, p.117)

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[8] The book Anatomy of an Educational Innovation put Smith partly into that community also and inquiries about a job, invitations to conferences, consulting, colloquia presentations, and so forth. In this context he continued his acquaintance with Kensington people and their colleagues.

And second,

> He who would engage in large-scale innovative programs must be cognizant of the role of true belief that is endemic to the process. (Smith and Keith, 1971, p.116)

## 2.2 Kensington's Male Teachers

This will be a short section. To do it justice would repeat a number of items with substantial similarity to the administrative group and would lessen our account of several subthemes we develop in later sections. The career struggles, however, have been vivid and real. True belief has remained. In a sense, perhaps because the group is about ten years younger than the administrative group, their careers have a "less finished" quality. A significant move or two seems to remain for several.

### 2.21 A Brief Account

The basic career data are presented in Figure 5. Seven men comprise the group of Kensington's male teachers. The heterogeneity of the group's career lines may be its most distinguishing characteristic. The six men interviewed were all in educational roles but the diversity was so great that no two men held the same position. As seen in Figure 5, they are an educational director in a hospital, a high school teacher, an educational management consultant, an associate dean, a professor, and an elementary principal. Hardly the stuff of which firm generalizations are made! Yet a more careful analysis of the data yields several interesting commonalities: 1) four of the six have either completed Ph. D.'s or the course work required for Ph. D.'s; 2) all have completed Master's Degrees; 3) each has remained close to or in an educational setting which is surprising given the attrition rates for young males; 4) the positions, while superficially appearing traditional, have a unique twist which connects with Kensington. But the process of their careers, their career histories, is where the fascination lies. These histories involve ever widening and deepening views of explanatory themes in the nature of the individuals who engage in educational innovation and reform.

Insert Figure 5 about here

In a sentence or two, Dan Hun has spent a number of years as part time graduate student and part-time university employee. The hazards of a Ph. D. program seem reified in his career as he's pursued curriculum theory and innovation. Bill Kirkham has spent most of his career in public and private agencies fighting civil rights battles by helping community action groups integrate their schools, churches, and businesses. Only recently did he return to the town in which he grew up to teach high school social studies. David Nichols worked in personnel in several businesses and in a Regional Educational Laboratory before striking out on his own as a management trainer and consultant. John Taylor finished a Ph. D. in physical education and moved into higher education. He was first a teacher then an administrator, an associate dean, of a large School of Education. Currently he is awaiting the publication of a P. E. book which embodies ideas central to his conceptions from Kensington. Alec Thurman taught for a year or two, joined Shelby in Southwest State, took an Educational Psychology Ph. D. and returned to a State College in the northern part of the country

| NAME | DEGREES | KENSINGTON POSITION | MAJOR POSITION SINCE KENSINGTON | CURRENT POSITION | FUTURE POSSIBILITIES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Daniel Hun | AB<br>MA<br>ABD | Transition | Graduate student/ Part-time university | Hospital Education Director | College or University? |
| Bill Kirkham | AB<br>MA | ISD | Federal Government Administrator | High School Social Studies Teacher | Administrator? |
| David Nichols | AB<br>MA | ISD | Self Employed: Management Training Company | Self Employed: Management Training Company | ------ |
| John Taylor | AB<br>MA | PE | Associate Dean School of Education and Professor of P.E. | Associate Dean School of Education | Deanship?<br>Professorship? |
| Alec Thurman | AB<br>MA<br>Ph.D. | ISD/Math | Professor of Education | Professor of Education | ------ |
| Tom Mack | AB<br>MA<br>ABD | Curriculum Materials Coordinator | Elementary and Secondary Principal | Elementary Principal | Central Administrator? |
| Jack Davis | AB<br>MA<br>? | ISD/Science | --------------No Information------------------------------------ | | |

Figure 5: Career Positions of Kensington's Male Teachers

near where he grew up. Currently he teaches an individualized program which, at root, is comparable in form to the math program he taught at Kensington. Tom Mack has been an elementary and secondary principal in several districts (including Milford for a year). In one older school he tore out walls, developed a materials center, and instituted a team teaching program. Currently he is principal of a tri-racial open plan school which begins with an early morning breakfast program for some of the children and ends with a late afternoon language and enrichment program for others. Most of the key conceptions from Kensington are in place there. Jack Davis was the only faculty member we were unable to find.

### 2.22 One More Life History

Currently. considerable debate is underway nationally on the staffing patterns of schools, merit pay, and teachers' careers. Our teachers, especially the males, push us to raise a fundamental issue regarding "the system under consideration." As we look at our group of male innovative teachers, one of the most striking aspects is that "the system" is larger than the elementary school or the public school system with its teachers, principals, and central office administrators. Many of the faculty found niches in higher education. And even here they differentiated themselves in several ways--some remained in teaching and some became Deans. Among those who remained in teaching they split on the mostly research and writing and mostly classroom dimension. But the idiosyncratic combinations seemed the rule.

It's fitting, perhaps, to exemplify our point here by playing out briefly the career of Kensington's physical education teacher, John Taylor. His thoughtful reflections raise some of his career surprises and elaborate in detail our more general point about the "systems" under consideration. Immediately after his training as a secondary P. E. teacher he joined the Milford District as an elementary specialist in P. E. This was several years before Kensington:

> John Taylor: I was there two years, the first year I served both schools. There were five or six hundred kids in each school, and I went to one school so many days a week, and the other school the other days. And I discovered after several months, something that just shook me, and that is that one of the primary purposes for my being there was to provide break time for the classroom teacher. And after all this serious professional training I had undergone, this caused me a number of serious problems to think about in my own destiny. What am I doing? What did I spend all this time in preparation for?
>
> OBS: What led you to those kinds of inferences?
>
> JT: Well, when I asked the question why can't I have more time, when I work with intermediate grade children than primary grade children? Since I had learned about the attention span on younger children, and how I might design classes. Things just did not fit. And, the response was primarily that, well, that would cause a problem, as some teachers had more planning time than other teachers, and those kinds of indicators became very obvious to me, and I really did not like that. At the same time, my preparation was primarily as a secondary school physical educator, as was almost everyone's at that time, with perhaps one course in elementary methods or games course for young children, and that is essentially what I had. So I was really teaching as a secondary teacher, and doing things that I had seen other secondary teachers do, and in which I had experience, and again I began questioning whether or not this is what I should be doing with these kids, and this is what I really spent five years in training to prepare for. At the end of the first year I was so disenchanted that I was ready to leave the district, and said I was going to leave unless I could have work on the conditions where I could do something of value with the kids, and Milford said okay, what would I like to do? So I said I would like to go to one school, and I would like to be able to vary the class schedule.

> And I chose one and worked with the principal, and we were able to work out a class schedule so that I did have longer periods of time with the intermediate grade children, and shorter periods of time with the primary grade children. We did that, by the way in which we worked the music schedule in, as well as the physical education schedule. But I still felt primarily that most of the teachers weren't really too concerned as to what I was doing, but at least I had an opportunity to work with kids in ways I felt would be more productive. And that is when I decided to go back to graduate school. And when I left, I guess Stevan Spanman was coming in.
>
> OBS: You had a year break in service then?
>
> JT: That is right. I went to State University. Before I left, is when I think it was Spanman that said, "Why don't you come back here and do your dissertation while you are working in the school?" They were beginning to talk about the school. And I said that sounded like a neat idea. I had some correspondence that I knew, I guess I had signed the contract to go back to Kensington while I was still at State University. I started hearing about non-graded schools, and going to the library to try to see what people were doing in physical education programs in non-graded schools. I could not find anything in the literature at all. And that's... then I came back. I missed the first month.
>
> OBS: Of the workshop?
>
> JT: Of the workshop, because I was still in school, so I got in maybe at the very end of that. I think it was a month long workshop.

The interplay of graduate school in teacher careers is critical for vertical mobility in the larger system. For the smaller system, the Kensington Elementary School in this instance, it's another story:

> JT: Some discussion in the air, known already. But I am not sure if the educational program had been well conceptionalized at that time. If they were still working on the specifications for the building, and in talking to the teachers about what they thought they ought to be doing, I have a vague recollection that there were some discussions going on at that particular point and time.
>
> OBS: In the District?

JT: In the District. You know, what would you do, how do you think you ought to be teaching, and then the people were listening with an idea to design the building to facilitate the kinds of things we wanted to do as teachers.

OBS: So given your previous two years, and the disappointment in some extent and the opportunity to do the degree, your attraction to Kensington was sort of a chance to, in terms of curriculum and physical education, to kind of stretch your wings a bit and have a go at trying to create something at the elementary level.

JT: I was not sure if it was really that or not, I think it was nice to know that there was a job waiting for me when I finished my course work and all, and that if I did in fact want to do a dissertation utilizing children in the School District, that would be encouraged, and probably supported.

OBS: So you weren't that caught up in the dream of the... concept?

JT: I don't remember being caught up in that dream. Probably there was a lot more of that taking place the year I was gone. Obviously, they had to start construction and a lot of other things that started taking place after I was away.

OBS: You mentioned when you first came in before we turned on the recorder, that you had to scrap your dissertation materials. Were those data that you had gathered in the school, or was that on another problem?

JT: No, it was on the other problem.

OBS: So that you never really utilized the District and the school that way?

JT: No, no. I had an idea of one dissertation topic that I formulated while I was still at State University. When I got to Kensington there wasn't much time to think about new ideas and any creative way, other than, gosh, what are we going to do with these kids in these three different locations?

We don't know the data and theory, if they exist, on Ph. D. dissertations--false starts, faculty support, complications, creativity, doing something significant, treating it as an exercise, and so on:

OBS: You did that, well, when did you gather your data, the following year when you went to State University?

> JT: Yes, I was really interested in how the school districts were viewing elementary school physical education, and how they were organizing themselves to develop the programs that were emerging through all these 27 separate, independent school districts in close proximity to each other, but wide discrepancies in the way in which they were designing their programs. I was curious about finding about who was making decisions in those districts, and how they were making those decisions. That was the study that I wanted to do, but I never got to do that.
>
> OBS: What was the fatal flaw in the material that the one guy objected to?
>
> JT: I don't know that there was really any, I just really don't know.
>
> OBS: That is a horror story then?
>
> JT: Oh, it really, it was. I was never so sick in any one point in my life.
>
> OBS: But you could not salvage that?
>
> JT: No, one lady on the committee thought I could make it turn into a philosophical study, something else, but I said that is not what I am interested in doing.
>
> OBS: But you had gathered data on the 27 districts?
>
> JT: No, I had not gathered data on the 27 districts. I knew how I was going to gather it, and how I was going to treat the data, and I had done the literature search.
>
> OBS: Oh, so it had gotten chopped down before you had gotten out actually into collecting, but you had done all the preliminary thinking?
>
> JT: Right.

The dissertation, when finally chosen, moved quite quickly:

> JT: It was very quick though.
>
> OBS: Two to three years?
>
> JT: Yeah, but I mean to start all over again while you are on a new job?

> OBS: Yeah, but that is what I meant, on a new job, to start from scratch on a dissertation. What problem did you finally do?
>
> JT: I did a study on the effects of instruction and practice on throwing ability with primary grade children. So I did, in fact, end up working with primary grade children in a public school situation again. But I had to go through the whole process of getting approval from the local school districts.

Besides finishing the Ph. D. dissertation, John had all the program demands of a young university faculty member. Some of the creativity, enthusiasm, and energy visible at Kensington appeared here as well:

> OBS: Have you pursued those kinds of problems at all since then? So you had your P. E. claim research-wise and that was it? Other kinds of research while you were here or when did you get caught by the administration? And that kind of thing?
>
> JT: I got caught up in this job five years ago, and prior to that I served as Chairman of Professional P. E. Department for three years, and so eight out of the fourteen years that I have been here I have been doing some kind of administration. The first year I was here there was--it was interesting because as I mentioned earlier, there were three of us, two of us in the department and two of us were brand new. There was one lady with a vision of what a teacher education program ought to look like, and when I--I remember the day she picked me up from the airport and she drove wildly through the streets of the town to get me out here--she is a dear lady, I love her, but she is an awful driver. (laughter)
>
> But I talked to one colleague about how I taught basketball, even though we had no baskets at Kensington Elementary School, and how we did have game analysis, and how the kids understand that, you know. While it is true, in the final analysis, you have to get the ball through the hoop to get the points, that if you really want to be good you have to do what you spend most of your time doing, and that on knee bends, and dribbling and passing and all these other things, so we had a lot of skill drills, and they were built into games that the kids enjoyed, but provided a lot of repetition and practice. And, you know, we had some other kinds of goals that we used rather than the ten foot basketball goals, which would not fit in the shelter anyway, and I think by the time we got here and she heard me talk about those kinds of things, she knew she wanted to hire me. When I came down here in September, then this

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other fellow came down. We all talked about disenchantment with teacher education, particularly in physical education, and we put our heads together and said this is the kind of program we are going to design.

OBS: Was the woman a lady P. E. type or was she a more general elementary education type?

JT: She was in physical education. So we set about redesigning our teacher education program, which I think was very sound at that time, and is still sound proof yet today. We said things like "Just taking all these courses we know don't have all the impact," and we all took exercise physiology, and how to use that information when we teach physical education. Nobody really utilizes that information. Not that it is not good information, but some of it is irrelevant to what physical educators do, and what is relevant is not taught in a way to make people see that it is relevant. So we had an image of taking a lot of the scientific basis, in physical education, and repackaging. For example, a course called Human Kinetics. That is, a combination of exercise, physiology, anatomy, and motor learning. What we said was that we were going to work with kids, and we are going to get our students working with real kids, in public schools right away, and as we studied young kids we are going to get people who teach the human kinetics to talk about the motor learning and the physical characteristics, and whatever else we need to talk about at that point and time. So while we didn't scrap all the subject matter from the scientific courses we did repackage that into a course called Human Kinetics that would run the whole junior year and then we had one called Applied Human Kinetics that we ran the whole senior year. Then we threw out all the methods courses and everything else, and we put those into what we called a seminar in field experience or seminar internship, and that would run the whole two years. The last two years of the program.

OBS: So it did run parallel then?

JT: Right, at the same time. The faculty would have to be willing to modify their courses to make sure everything was coming together at the right time. And we redesigned the courses that way, and then we set about trying to recruit people who would teach it that way for us, and we were able to do that, and we built that program that way. We had a self assessment program, to help kids understand their own values, and how they feel about the world of teaching kids, as well as doing their own physical performance task and trying to effect some changes on those kinds of perameters. And that is basically the kind of thing we had. So we had a field days program for two years.

OBS: Both elementary and secondary?

JT: It was a K-12 program, and I worked in the elementary part so I had a group of students that I worked with for three quarters, the same group of students, and I would spend three to four days a week at the same elementary school with those kids. And you know, we got more spohisticated to where we would have different levels of performance that we could expect from our teachers. Every quarter they would start off doing things with one or two kids, and then small groups, and then the whole class, and the kinds of planning tasks they had became more sophisticated and finally they were just teaching all those classes.

OBS: Yeah

JT: We had the Human Kinetics course and a laboratory portion too, so that we could study things about kinesiology. And then we would go into the gym and we would actually practice those and experience those things and design lessons that we might use with young kids and then go around to the schools and try them. We got to the point where that program was growing so rapidly, we decided that we did not want to take everybody. So we became the first undergraduate selective admissions program on our campus.

OBS: Generally, not just in education?

JT: Totally on the campus.

OBS: On the campus?

JT: Now there are other selective divisions programs, but we were the first one and had to take all the flak. We did do some research on the way in which we were admitting our students and modified that, but essentially we require every student to spend a full day on campus for orientation and selection process. We only admit students once a year in that program.

OBS: Still?

JT: Still.

OBS: You've got that much demand for you?

JT: We cut back the number we admitted one year because we wanted to do more on graduate education and we had the same size faculty and that was one of the nice things about having a controlled enrollment. You could make that decision consciously to shift your resources. But we found, you know, we found the impact of grade point averages, and some other standardized tests we were giving, and we had an interview procedure that we worked on, and tried to refine, and we correlated a lot of those items with their performance scores in the program.

> OBS: So you had reasonable criteria as well?
>
> JT: Right. It has been defensible. We have been able to keep it all this time. I think part of the reason I'm in the job I'm in now is because people, every Dean that has been here has spoken of the physical education program in our college as one of the college's best programs.
>
> OBS: So it has been a cummulating effect.
>
> JT: Right, and our faculty were fairly articulate and verbal. They were interested in broader educational problems. They served on college-wide committees, and they served on university-wide commottees, and I think generally, if you asked the faculty in the college to name the top programs in the college of education undergraduate teacher education programs, it would be mentioned as frequently as any other one.

At the time of the interview John and two colleagues from the physical education department were just finishing a text on methods of teaching physical education. He was full of the excitement of the overall venture, and the immediate task of reading page proofs on the book.

To round out the picture, we would note that even when promoted to Associate Dean for Programs he has continued to teach, a graduate course in Curriculum and Methods of Physical Education. In addition he has been very active in national physical education organizations, particularly those sections involving teacher education which he chaired for a couple of years.

Also at the time of the interview the School of Education had hired a new Dean and administrative changes were in the wind. John commented:

> JT: So we have a different kind of structure in the Dean's office and it is hard for me to even know what my job is anymore but I do it and I continue to feel good about some of the things that I do. I get a good feeling from people who continue to tell me that they are glad that I am in this office, and I am not really sure why they are glad that I am here, but........ (laughter)

OBS: But it has become more of a general associate deanship and not the specific focus that it has had?

JT: Yes, I am sure it will change a little bit more as we do some more things, but our current dean just has a different operations style. All of us have had to learn to accomodate him, and kind of give him a different kind of support than we were used to giving, giving to the prior dean. If it was a program matter everybody knew they would come to me, with program issues, and essentially I was the dean for program, you know, I would be the final one to sign off a new course in program. I still do that or those things, because nobody said we should change that.

OBS: It is less cleanly delegated now?

JT: Yeah

OBS: The faculty are a little less sure?

JT: If somebody is really interested in another program idea they are as likely to go to the dean as they are to me right now. Or if people--if somebody is interested in some other budget issue they might come to me or they might go to the dean, so we have to work out our own ways of communicating with each other.

This part of the interview terminated with a series of comments that capture one more dimension of the man. We had been talking about a number of political issues emanating from the state legislature regarding the selection, training, and certification of teachers:

OBS: It strikes me that your state may well be in the center of the brouhaha in the nation in the next year or two. Is there any sense that that is accurate? That lots of things are coming down?

JT: Absolutely. What scares you is that it all happens so quickly.

OBS: But it doesn't scare you enough not to enjoy it from the way you smile at it.

JT: Well, there are days when I say, you know, this is going to be one of the last days in this office, I'm going back to my old department and be a professor, and enjoy more of the sunshine. But...

OBS: I was going to say another hypothesis was on you might be that five years as an administrator, one learns to monitor one's behavior so as to not emit a lot of cues that let you know how much some of this upsets you.

Or the ones who can't get out. (laughter)

JT: Well, I run a lot. Running at the end of the day is a great catharsis for me.

OBS: You run a couple of miles per day or?

JT: I started wondering how far I was running, and I knew I cheated a lot, so I did what any good psychologist would tell me to do, and that is to chart my running. I set up a goal of 1,000 miles a year, and I write down in my little book. I'm disgustingly honest. I never write anything down unless I run and I run 1,000 miles a year. This is about the sixth or seventh year now that I have been running that long.

OBS: How many days a week?

JT: Well, it would average four days a week, five miles at a time, so that's...

OBS: That's a lot of running!

Each of the stories our male teachers told suggests that professional education is a larger system than an elementary school or school district. In John Taylor's case, the Ph. D. program was a major transition step from the public schools to the University. The varied possibilities in program development, innovative teaching, collegial relationships, research and writing, and finally administration suggest the farther reaches of career possibilities. These seem to have demanded the best from him and provided multiple satisfactions to him.

### 2.23 A Provisional Interpretation

When we showed Figure 5 to our colleague Professor William Connor and asked him what he thought, his immediate reaction was, "It looks like graduates from New College in the 1930's." The Ph. D. level of education for many and the move out of elementary and secondary teaching into diverse positions in administration, in college and university teaching, and other positions were what caught his eye. Connor put us on to a summary publication, We Asked the Mole (New College, 1939) and we recalled Goodwin Watson's chapter in Miles' book Innovation in Education (1964), both based on the New College Experience. These views from another time and place suggest that we are on to a much more general phenomenon.

"New College" was an innovative teacher education program from the 1930's. Then, the students from Columbia College in New York combined their urban experience with a rural summer experience in Appalachia, working on a farm and in community activities. Also, they combined these national experiences with a summer of international travel, e.g. biking through Ireland, England, and the low countries in northern Europe. The program was rich in the practical experiences of a progressive education or activity program and the intellectual traditions of an Ivy League University. All the students were training to be teachers.

The point we are reaching for, and obvious to our colleague Connor, is that the idealism, the reform of American society and the liberation of individuals through education, has its counterparts in other places and at other times. We, and our Kensington colleagues as well, have been relatively ignorant of these. Connor, in a glance at our career data, put us in touch with another one of these times and places and started a semi free association chain of reasoning that we have tried to capture in Figure 6.

Insert Figure 6 about here

The New College students did their summary book much as the Kensington teachers fifteen years ago did their "coloring book" (Smith and Keith, 1971, pp. 345-9). They asked a question, wistfully, almost as we had in our proposal.

> WE ASKED THE MOLE
>
> WE HAD TO MAKE THIS BOOK BECAUSE ONE NIGHT WHEN WE LET OURSELVES THINK THAT NEW COLLEGE IS CLOSING, WE WONDERED WHAT WE WOULD DO NOW - NOW THAT WE HAVE BEEN MADE WHAT WE ARE BY IT. (p. 1)

We seemed to be sharing a kind of idealism. They presented a kind of manifesto when New College was closing. We excerpt a brief paragraph here to capture what will come to be one of the central explanatory themes--the natural history of true belief--which lies behind the careers of our innovative faculty:

> THAT NIGHT WE SAT AND TALKED - ABOUT PHILOSOPHIES AND PRINCIPLES. SOMETIMES WE ALMOST FORGOT WHY WE WERE TALKING AND WE WENT OFF ON PLEASANT TANGENTS - THE GUARDS AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE AND THE REASON WHY CHARTRES CATHEDRAL IS BEAUTIFUL. AND WE LOOKED AT THESE PHOTOGRAPHS OF OURSELVES AND REMEMBERED EXPERIENCES - SOME OF THEM GOOD AND SOME OF THEM BAD - LIKE THE PICTURES. WE IMMODESTLY LIKED OURSELVES THOUGH WE KNEW THAT WHAT WE ARE IS NOT THE BEST, BUT KNEW ALSO THAT WHAT WE MAY BE CAN BE THE BEST. AND PERHAPS SUCH AN IMMODESTY IS NOT TO BE CONDEMNED: IT ALLOWS FOR GROWTH.
> (We Asked The Mole, 1939,p. )

Déjavú experiences seem a relatively unexplored form of generalization. Proponents of empathic understanding or verstehen experiences might resonate to the idea (Abel, 1948). For ourselves we would make several observations: 1) when Professor Connor saw the table of data

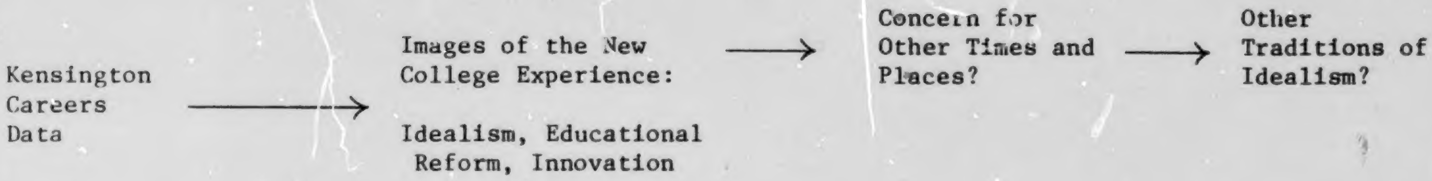
Kensington Careers Data
Images of the New College Experience:
Idealism, Educational Reform, Innovation
Concern for Other Times and Places?
Other Traditions of Idealism?

Figure 6: Kensington and New College: Free Association of Some Common Ideas

he made an association with an earlier idealistic reform experience in Education; 2) when we read the two New College accounts, one an emotional participant summary of the experience and the other a more technical account we, too, were struck with the similarities; 3) we speculated that Kensington was a part of a much longer and larger, and, probably, quite episodic tradition, since awareness of prior historical instances seems limited, but a tradition which has more general utopian and ideological roots in American, if not Western Society; 4) for us some of our later emperical generalizations "educational reform as secular religion" and "you do go home again" have coalesced into the larger theme "the natural history of belief systems." These ideas are not far from the New College story and Connor's insight from looking at our figure of career and life history data. Shortly, we turn to these at considerable length.

## 2.3 Kensington's Female Teachers

### 2.31 A Brief Summary Account

Age, like gender, is one of those demographic variables about which considerable controversy exists among psychologists. The long history of research on age and sex differences which initially was driven by nature-nurture debates, often with genetic overtones, has moved to more complex analyses of social roles and societal changes through history. Our concerns with Kensington's group of innovative teachers adds a few more particularistic grains of sand to those later debates. Once again, initially, it is career dimensions which guide our efforts.

Our strategy for presenting our results varies a bit here as well. Rather than present one or two extended life histories we present very brief summary accounts of "the older female teachers" and "the younger female teachers." Then we present our central analytical theme "reconstruing teaching as a woman's occupation and career." Sections on "varied positions in teaching", "marriage, families, and careers" follow. We conclude with an attempt to speak to "What's Needed?"

Kensington's Older Female Teachers. Kensington's "older female teachers" seemed cut from other cloth than the "younger female teachers," and more broadly from the two groups of men, the male teachers and the three male administrators. Consequently we will first sketch out some of the interesting career-specific items and then use the data from them to anticipate and presage partly by way of contrast a number of our later themes. Figure 7 contains a sketch of their careers.

Insert Figure 7 about here

The first and most striking fact is that all three are career elementary teachers. They started in the classroom, continued in the classroom (although two dropped out for some years to have families) and retired as elementary school classroom teachers. Significantly, two of the group really link Kensington with a much older tradition. They came from small towns and began teaching with two year normal school certificates. Our too frequent, ahistorical perspective often makes one ignorant of phenomena such as the recency of the four year A.B. degree plus teacher training as a requirement for certification.

| NAME | DEGREES | KENSINGTON POSITION | MAJOR POSITION SINCE KENSINGTON | CURRENT POSITION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Irma Hall | 1 Year Certificate<br>BS | ISD | Remained at Kensington Upper Elementary | Retired |
| Carla Young | 1 Year Certificate<br>AB<br>MA | BSD: Team 2 | Remained at Milford Middle Elementary | Retired |
| Wanda Ellison | AB | BSD: Team 4 | Remained in Milford Kindergarten | Retired |

Figure 7: Career Positions of Kensington's Older Female Teachers

Second, all three remained in Milford, although only one remained at Kensington. This may well be a complex of being older, being married, having long standing family and community ties. Important also is that these three, as a group, were more concerned and upset over Kensington's first year than any other cluster of faculty. One commented:

> Wanda Ellison: I never worked so hard in my life and I felt that I didn't accomplish as much with the children as the amount of work indicated.
>
> OBS: It's you're working harder and getting less done in one sense.
>
> WE: Right. Exactly. The later comment that I heard from students who actually attended the school was that it was the best year of their lives.
>
> OBS: That first year?
>
> WE: Yes, surprisingly. These were bright students given to dramatic and extra art talent who appreciated the opportunity to explore and the freedom from the academic daily regimen and they loved it. From that extreme to other parents who were also teachers at other schools who said it was a wasted year in the time of their children's lives.
>
> OBS: Yeah. Do you have any feeling yourself as to where you'd be on that continuing from the best to the worst?
>
> WE: I thought there was some good in it but I thought it didn't work with the type of children, I don't mean that the children were not as smart, but I think the children had to be extremely bright to profit by a situation like that. Extremely bright and motivated at home to seek to improve and these children were not.
>
> OBS: The majority in that sense.
>
> WE: Yes.

Third, as they recounted episodes in their teaching careers, accomplishments both in their earlier and later careers, they were successful teachers by almost any set of standards one might apply.

They found teaching to their liking, an important fit. They raised families, they returned for more training. They found a pleasure in nurturing young children. Teaching demanded and pulled from them the best of their creative talents. At one time or another they taught most every grade of elementary school. As one said, "It can get boring at one level. Like the new material."

Fourth, each commented that they stayed or returned to teaching in part for financial reasons. The income, while not high by standards of other professions, e.g. law and medicine, was very important in enabling them and their families to have a standard of living substantially above minimal level. In particular, the college education of their children and ease in owning their own home were important early items. Buffers for family illness were important in one instance. Later, community participation, travel, and other activities were facilitated.

As they talked about their retirement--one worked until she was 67 and two retired early, in their early 60's--one of the most striking aspects is their vigor, energy, and creativity. One or another reads, paints, pots, square dances, plays bridge, gardens, takes responsibility for church activities and so forth. The creativity item returned again and again in the interviews:

> OBS: Yeah, I'm curious about this late development in art. Now, you did some--you must have had some kind of talent because you did some of the drawings and that sort of thing in those books and stuff...

WE: Oh, well, yes, I took every art course that came along when--while I was teaching because it would be useful in teaching and giving the children work to do and so I took all the elementary teaching art courses that I could find and really all of those required courses that you have to take in order to receive your increment. We were required to take six hours every four years and so those were always in art.

OBS: Oh, so you did those all along?

WE: Yes.

OBS: But then again, that was fairly--when you were well into your 40's then because you didn't go back to teaching until then is what you said. What do you make of that--you either didn't show that potential early because your paintings are--you obviously have a good representational kinds of drawings and I'm just amazed that all that's blossomed in the last few years.

WE: Well, that's why I retired early because I wanted to do more with it. I guess I liked it all along. The very first inclination that I was artistic popped up in college when I had to do drawings of flowers and do cross sections scientifically.

OBS: Oh, in Biology or Botany?

WE: Yes, at that time I realized that it was great fun. But I didn't have any training in it although now I do, I go to school and I take art sessions.

OBS: Once a week or?

WE: Yes, once a week in painting and I go over to school about twice a week. I'm in the advanced pottery and there aren't many of us and so we have use of the studio any time we want it, day or night.

OBS: Do you have your own wheel and a ...?

WE: I don't have my own wheel but I'm going to get one. So far, it's so convenient and it's cheaper and now that I'm a Senior Citizen, they have a half fare deal which...

OBS: (laughter)

WE: Which is very attractive. I'm serious about the art, I really work hard at that.

In conclusion, when we divide our small group of educational innovators by gender, and then split the men by position, those who were administrators and those who were teachers and then split the women by age--the older versus the younger teachers--a set of patterns has emerged.

The meaning of the patterns, if not some broad evaluations, can then be explored along several lines. In recent years, presumably heavily due to the women's movement (Friedan, 1963, 1981), talented young women have moved from careers in teaching, nursing, and secretarial service into law, medicine, and business. Opportunities for places in professional schools have increased as views of "appropriate" careers for women have shifted. That seemed part of the naming and breaking apart of the feminine mystique. From our point of view that was and is an important and desirable change in American, if not world, society.

The issue we wish to explore here is Friedan's (1981) concept of the second stage as it relates to teaching what has traditionally been a "woman's occupation" and especially its meaning for the talented group of innovative teachers who were at Kensington in 1964-65. As Friedan has done for "the family as a new feminist frontier" we want to move behind the stereotypes of "women's work" and see what teaching has done to and for our two groups of women--the older and younger teachers. As always, in case studines with small numbers, it's the quality and and power of the ideas--concepts, hypotheses, theories, and metaphors rather than their verified applications to a known percentages of some teaching population. Further, our reading of Rosabeth Moss Kanter's Men and Women of the Corporation, (1977) suggest that "secretaries" may be very different from teachers. Nurses and social workers we know even less about.

For these three women, insofar as these generalizations are true, teaching was not "women's work" in that negative sense of "those who can, do, and those who can't, teach." For them, the occupation of teaching did the kinds of things work is supposed to do for all of us, men and women alike. This is not to argue either that anyone of the three might not have been a successful lawyer, minister, physician or business manager or executive. It is to argue, we believe, that teaching should not be shunned as an occupation because it has been historically "women's work." For some women, such as these three, and for some men, it can do all that a satisfying career does for the development and meaning in anyone's life. Just as when women now make choices for the kind of family life--living together, marriage, children--they enter those relationships different than twenty or thirty years ago, so those entering teaching can do so as an affirmative choice--one option among many rather than an only option.

Kensington's Younger Female Teachers. If Kensington's older female teachers were the most settled of the subgroups of staff, Kensington's younger female teachers were the least settled. For them the flux of late twentieth century social change has been a major item in their lives. A glance at Figure 8 reveals that all but one have continued to work, mostly in educationally related fields. About half work full time, about half part-time. Most of the positions remain associated with direct service with children. Only one, Jean Emerson, had moved into administrative work; she died tragically a year before our study began. All of the group have Masters Degrees. Only one of the group, Sue Norton, has seriously pursued Ph. D. work, she eventually dropped out of the program for a variety of reasons: concerns that education was not really her field, parental care, and marriage and family. Over half the group married and had children. As one might expect, these were major events in their lives with decided influence upon their careers.

Insert Figure 8 about here

The differences in "careers" for the men and women in the group raised a number of questions for us. The variety of career activities was even more surprising and perplexing. As we grappled with the interview data, the stories the participants told, and juxtaposed these materials with our attempt to read widely in the "women's literature" we found ourselves developing several interrelated clusters of ideas. The most pervasive of these themes we called "Reconstruing teaching as a woman's occupation and career." At the risk of promoting a broad rationalization rather than a reconceptualization, we believe that teaching has been maligned, negatively evaluated with the pejorative label "woman's occupation." Second, and almost as a concrete specification of that general point, the teachers in our group overwhelmed us with their accounts of what we came to call "varied positions in

| NAME | DEGREES | KENSINGTON POSITION | MAJOR POSITION SINCE KENSINGTON | CURRENT POSITION | FUTURE POSSIBILITIES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chris Mun | AB<br>MA | Basic Skills (Part Time) | Primary Teacher | Primary Teacher | |
| Sue Norton | AB<br>MAT<br>ABD | Basic Skills | Primary Teacher | Part Time Book Store Clerk | Librarian |
| Meg Adrian | AB<br>MA | Transition | Elementary Teacher (Innovative School) | Title I Resource Person | |
| Clair Nelson | AB<br>MA | Transition | Elementary Teacher (Teaming) | Title I Remedial Teacher (Half Time) | |
| Kay Abbott | AB<br>MA | ISD | Elementary/ Substitute/ Volunteering | Occasional Volunteering | |
| Liz Etzell | AB | ISD | Various Positions | Computer Programmer | |
| Elaine Ross | AB<br>MA | Basic Skills | Title I Language Arts Specialist | Part Time Language Arts Specialist | |
| Mary Radford | AB<br>MA | Basic Skills | Elementary Teacher | Elementary Teacher | |
| Jean Emerson | AB<br>MA | Basic Skills | State Department of Education | Deceased | |

Figure 8: Career Positions of Kensington's Younger Female Teachers

'teaching'". What's usually called "teaching" is a complex and varied combination of positions and working conditions. For creative, resourseful, self-directed individuals it's a wonderland of opportunities.

Several of our group, both men and women, by extended discussion of the intersection of careers, marriage, and family life gave us images of trade offs, idiosyncratic life styles, and creative resolutions of their lives. Finally, we grapple briefly with these value oriented set of issues as we address "What's needed?"

## 2.32 Reconstruing Teaching as a Woman's Occupation and Career

Some years ago we raised a perplexity which seemed important in educational psychology:

> Adolescent developmental tasks are sometimes made more difficult because the criterion of their successful accomplishment is inadequately established by the society. For example, whereas the male learns almost from babyhood that when he is a man he will hold a job in order to support himself and his family, with respect to adolescent girls our society has no carefully delineated set of norms. What is the purpose of education for her? To what extent should her education be governed by vocational considerations? Often the female adolescent resolves this issued by preparing for a vocation as a contingency against failure to marry or in the event of economic necessity after marriage. Not infrequently a young woman chooses to prepare for a teaching career because college graduation is expected of her by her family and her peers and teaching is a socially acceptable occupation for a year or two prior to marriage. It appears likely that before long we may see the development of a career pattern in which the female teacher acquires some "basic training" before marriage, leaves the field for ten or twelve years in order to get a family well established, and then returns to teaching as a career member of the profession.
>
> The more basic problems of integrating this career-marriage decision into a general philosophy of life which are raised by such writers as Simone de Beauvoir (1953) and Gruenberg and Krech (1952) are often given little consideration. In similar fashion, exponents of special programs for gifted adolescents

> have rarely tried to conceptualize the nature of and values involved in special education for gifted women.
> (Smith and Hudgins, 1964, p. 135)

Since that time, the women's movement has arrived, remade the fabric of American social life, and now according to one of its leaders, Betty Friedan (1981), it is ready for "the second stage."

As we have indicated, we were studying educational innovation, not the women's movement. We talked of individual lives--before and after the year at Kensington. Our teachers, although educational innovators, were also living examples, of the questions we had as educational psychologists and we thought, maybe provide some illustrations of the form the answers might take. But not until we broke our group along lines of gender, then age for the women, and position for the men did patterns become vivid. And then the importance of the women's agenda hit us forcefully.

In her account, Men and Women of the Corporation, Kanter (1977) describes and analyzes issues of gender in the "Indsco" corporation in particular, and in work life more generally. With considerable insight and skill she integrates her discussion of managers, secretaries and wives around the organizational structural themes of opportunity, power, and numerical proportion and balance. By design, most of the discussion remains "within the organization", the problems faced by men and women, and especially the latter, which is also our focus in this section. For example, the organizational constraints that keep women in secretarial roles and the alternatives that might be introduced to enhance opportunities, to empower individuals and to reduce the difficulties of tokenism are raised in great detail. As we read her account we were struck however that what she was saying was both true and relevant, but that it was only part of the story. Along the way one of our interpretive remarks in the margin went this way:

> She seems to ignore similar aspects in society in general and in social life and family which heavily constrain freedom and action in the organization.

Although our reading of Kanter had been initiated for other purposes, we found our perplexities with the female teachers from Kensington pushing us to mine her book for insights on the one hand and suggest reinterpretations on the other hand.

The most fundamental thesis in this part of our analysis has overtones of Friedan's second stage. We believe that the stereotype of teaching as a women's occupation and career must be rethought. Our data, conversations with our teachers, kept pushing us in ways we had not anticipated.

Contributing to the inability to take advantage of career opportunities was the fundamental value conflict of family, wife, and mother versus career. We state the dilemma initially, and perhaps traditionally, as either/or to indicate that at the extremes are two very different life styles. Most of the women in our study elected something in the middle, a compromise, or an integration. The excitement of our data lies in how those compromises and integrations worked out.

## 2.33 Varied Positions Within "Teaching"

As our teachers talked about their careers and the professional part of their lives they detailed fascinating accounts of varying activities and positions. The after-the-fact obvious generalization is that teaching is not of a piece, at least as practiced by these individuals. It is a broad label for a number of subactivities or positions that interact dramatically with conceptions of time and setting. In this section we present heavily in their own words their accounts of the work dimension of their life histories. As they spell out the factual stories, in varying degrees they present themselves more broadly, more specifically, and more subtly. We hope the accounts clarify not only the varied positions within teaching but also the meaning of teaching in the lives of innovative reform oriented educators.

Title I Now: Varied Opportunities. Varied opportunities seems the label which captures Meg Adrian's implicit strategy. She is now a Title I Resource Teacher in an elementary school in a large city public school system. She had had a number of years experience in a team teaching arrangement. Multiple grade levels, then one grade level but multiple teachers, and changing principals and colleagues. To the query, "Why did you move? she responded:

> Med Adrian: Several reasons...the biggest, I think was I needed a change...

And then more specifically:

> I had worked in contact with 150 children and I didn't realize ...we kept saying, "We're tired, we're tired."

And in the reflections of a colleague:

> I did not realize it as much until the next year. It's very interesting, one of the women, who had also worked here, did not move that year, but she did the next. She said, "Now I know what you mean, it's really such a relief, not working with that many people or having that many new contacts."

She moved to a school with children, "most of them are from a very poor economic situation..." and she moved to a different role, a Title I teacher with children "who are having reading problems." The tutoral and small group teaching involves children who fit neither the regular classroom nor the test defined special education program. Her major reaction:

> ...it's really been a pleasure, to me, the children I work with seem like they're just doing great. I'm just so pleased with them, but I'm giving them things that they can work with. I try to just keep pushing them things that are a little bit harder. But I think that is the big difference, that I'm giving them tasks at their level.

Her point was reiterated, and extended slightly, in a later comment:

> I feel that without all the curriculum guides and all the things I have to do, I feel free of all that in the program I'm in. That's what I enjoy. I just can work on what the child needs.

The trade off of special programs and projects seems to be a separation:

> ...you lose a little bit of the feeling of being part of the school, I think, and working at all grade levels with the group...of teachers and also, even within the whole faculty, I feel...I feel just a little bit set off someway, because I don't have the same experiences...so it's a little bit of a different feeling.

But Title I programs come in varied shades. Meg's former Transition Division teammate at Kensington, Claire Nelson, lives 1500 miles away and had recently moved from varied substituting jobs into a half time Title I remedial teaching position:

> OBS: How do you get your kids?
>
> Claire Nelson: We pick them up based on a Needs Assessment which the state has developed and using their guidelines as far as cut off scores in the areas of reading and math.
>
> OBS: What range in age do you work with?
>
> CN: First, second, and third grades. I did this, because we're not wealthy--wealthy!--we're not poor enough to receive funding beyond third grade. We have been able to--we've had enough children with problems in those ages to merit going beyond that.
>
> OBS: Do you move from building to building?
>
> CN: No, I'm in one building, half time. We look at the scores in the fall and we're given a cut off point. They have to be a year--either a year behind in one subject area or maybe a half a year behind in both reading and math towards teacher recommendation and then we pick them up according as to how many hours that they allocated to our building. This kind of thing changes from year to year so there is some uncertainty based on the findings and based on how many children show a need in a given building and again the population shift--they shift the number of Title I teachers in a given building in a year. I've been in the same building now about two years. I was in one building two years and then they got cut back and then that building failed to qualify so they got cut completely and now I've been in this building two years.
>
> OBS: Do you work literally one on one or do you work with small groups?
>
> CN: One on one tutoring. We work very closely with the classroom teacher as far as enriching--not enriching so much as reinforcing our work on what they're doing.
>
> OBS: Do you see a child every day?
>
> CN: Every day for a 20 minute block. Usually 25 or 30 minutes but 20 minutes is a normal range with a given child. Sometimes another Title I teacher and I will pull two children together, play games and that so that they have competition among peers

rather than all educators and adults. But we're pretty much game oriented in that the children we are working with are all behind, many of them are either immature as first graders in many cases, they just haven't caught on to the all day in school business or in the case of third graders, they are very reluctant to be singled out as needing special help. They just don't really like it and it takes a great deal to coax them into it, cajole them, encourage, you know, whatever, you take all these different approaches and we've done a lot with games.

OBS: It sounds as though--have you talked with Meg?

CN: Yeah.

OBS: It sounds much like her role.

CN: Except she's working with older children and I think she has groups, does she not?

OBS: Yeah, that's why I was pushing the single one on one. She tends to work--when I was there for example, she has a group of four or five children that she had pulled out of what would appear to be a fourth or fifth grade level.

CN: Now, she is their reading teacher per se, is she not? Or do they also read in their classrooms?

OBS: Yes, they read in their classrooms. She's working again --it's very similar--whether it's Title I I'm not sure.

CN: Yes, it is.

OBS: It is Title I. She identifies some children or she takes recommendations from teachers and then she'll pull them out on--it seems like a little more flexible basis. It may be three times a week--four or five kids for maybe 20 minutes or a half hour and she works with a lot of games, word games and so on. I thought it was totally reading. I don't remember her saying anything about mathematics.

CN: Title I, as I understand it, just varies from state to state, from district to district. As I see it, the money is given to a state and they administer it. And that's why the differences. Also, our district is different than the neighboring districts in many respects. We get no additional funds from the district. What we get is total Federal money. It's divided up among how many teachers there will be, how many hours. When the money runs out the district kicks in enough that our model is strictly one to one certified teachers. Some districts use a certified teacher coordinator and aides, actually working with children. Some districts use a lot of district funds too. Some use small groups. So it's very highly individualized. We happen to subscribe here to the one on one model.

OBS: So you've been doing that for four years. How do you like that? It's a very different kind of teaching, it is one on one, it is almost always working with children with problems. You know, you can argue that some of the beauties of it is that it is teaching at its best, you're really giving to kids that need it. On the other hand you kind of lose the excitement of the super quick kids and the group activities.

CN: But now, again, I'm in an open school. So we're sort of sandwiched between first grades and second grades all around us, kids are moving. We do have contact with the teachers. If we're having a problem right then and there on the spot or if a child's having a problem understanding what's being presented to him in his school's group, that teacher can come right on over and say, "When you get Andy, please work with him because he just didn't get it today." So I follow up right then.

OBS: You're in the same larger room? It's not as if you're isolated in a room by yourself.

CN: Right, we're right in between them with bookcases on either side but we can stand up and say, "Hey! Come here." So we're a part of the staff and we're in very close contact with the teachers whose children we're seeing.

OBS: What's the relationship with the other faculty. Is there any feeling that you've kind of got the world by the tail and that you've got the ideal teaching and a--and that the other teachers are earning their pay?

CN: No, no. They are just delighted to have us. They are thrilled that the children have the extra help. They are very concerned for the children. They can have additional help because they cannot always give it to them. They don't have the time. They have too many children to also teach.

Claire Nelson had been talking about individualization as a goal of Kensington and moved on to a consideration of her current Title I situation:

CN: I think I've probably reached one of the best of all possibilities in that I can work with a child one to one and I can work in relation to what he's doing in his class. We are free to take a couple of children from that--whatever it is they're coming from--reading or math class. We offer them a chance to pick a friend to bring along. For another child that we see at a different time in the day--two or three of them can come and do something with one another.

OBS: Then you do do some....

CN: Not by written design. We do it as a means of varying the program, as a means of added incentive sometimes or maybe it's a reward--to bring a friend along and play a game or to bring a friend and show them what they have done. So it is more of an incentive kind of thing than a real instructional tutor. And you can't totally work with only one child against yourself because I think they get tired of playing only against an adult.

OBS: That's why I was wondering why--is there anything within your program policies that would preclude your working with two or three at a time?

CN: Just the way our district is set up, yes. We schedule one child at one time period and ocasionally we will take a couple at a time. We will double up but we're not really designed to do it that way.

OBS: What would happen if you had three children?

CN: I guess I can't schedule them. I can do it if I don't put it on paper and I do do it.

OBS: What would the rationale be if you were to say--here are three children who happen to work well together and we're doing certain types of reading, skill building on a sort of semi-game capacity and it's just educationally more beneficial for me to work with these three children?

CN: I don't think I'd have a problem with the teacher involved.

OBS: I'm sure she'd give you all three.

CN: No doubt, I'd probably run into a problem with the overall program--the director of the program would argue--that's not the design that was intended, the program was not written that way, we aren't funded that way. We are funded for one certified teaching working with one individual who is given time blocks and we do have the flexibility of pulling in an extra child or two ocasionally but we are to devote our attention to that one child for that time that he's in the group...

Part Time Language Arts Specialist. As we consider each of our younger teachers, we kept finding surprising variations of the career, marriage, family patterns. Elaine was more experienced, eight years, than any of the other younger teachers at Kensington. She married in December of the 1964-65 school year, sought a replacement, and left at Easter of the first year of Kensington:

> Elaine Ross: So then I started--right away the next fall I applied back in Collegeville. I had taught back there, I believe it was about eight years before I went to Kensington and had a position in a school that was very close, right down here about three minutes from our home and taught there one year and then one of the things that I wanted to do intensely was to become a mother. So I stayed home the next year and with health, ease, and no tension, I thought maybe this will help and it worked! So I have a daughter that's 12 now.
>
> OBS: Just after Kensington?
>
> ER: No, after one year of teaching. One year after Kensington and then we had our daughter.

Her career was held in abeyance, and then an idiosyncratic chain of circumstances began:

> OBS: So you taught for one year and after that, the motherhood and...
>
> ER: I felt very sincerely that you needed--that I wanted to be home with my daughter when she was little and every fall and every late summer I got telephone call after telephone call, an awful lot, begging me to come back to the classroom. Then when she was about two I only had two calls. When she was three years old the telephone ceased to ring and the tide changed and there was no way I could have gotten back in then because by that time I had accumulated 18 years of teaching.
>
> OBS: Salary and grades and all of that needed. So at that point were you interested in getting back in after say, your daughter would have been five or six?

ER: Well, what happened--I did get in--as a pupil--kind of an involved source. My husband encouraged me to go back and take a course. I didn't really want to but I went. I had gotten my undergraduate work at Grove Acres, went back and got one down there. Made an appointment and had my credits evaluated and see, what happened--I walked in--but who did I have but the father..., I had had his daughter in second grade. He welcomed me with open arms.

OBS: You were considering going back to graduate school and you ran into Dr. Grist?

ER: That's right. He looked at my credits and said, "You're enrolled." So that began and I just took one or two at a time and my husband is a former administrator and thinks very clearly and felt that I needed some time away from our daughter and she needed some time away from me. We were very attached--I was a strong mother to them--and to a degree--and so I gradually took courses and the first thing I knew I was ready for working on my Masters project, the paper. The funny part of that--you mentioned puppets a minute ago--when I first went in to see the one who was assigned to me as an adviser whom I did not know, I just kind of slithered in and said something about--would it be possible for me to do my Masters work in puppetry? And he paused a minute, put his hand in a box and came out with a puppet, "Why not?" Oh, I hit the right advisor.

OBS: You pulled the one right out of the hat there...

ER: He was just fantastic. I don't know...

The pattern of related beliefs as reasons and justification seemed to provide an integration with her interests, talents, and skills:

OBS: So the Masters then was in Elementary Ed or was it more specifically...?

ER: It was Language Arts. They tried to get me--many people tried to talk me into going really special--because the jobs were there, but I kept saying and of course, in that time it was more of a Remedial Reading and I said I don't believe in it, it doesn't work. If a child is having trouble you can't give him more of the same, you've got to be different, you've got to motivate him and you've got to do something to turn him on.

OBS: Elaborate on that a bit--meaning that if you had a child who could be a year behind on achieving the test scores and so on, you would not remediate with him...?

> ER: No, I would not give him more work sheets and more work books and more books, the same thing. First of all, I do a lot of communicating with him to find out what his interests are and then expand and hit at a kid with it, whether it be through building something or puppetry or dramatics or art or music or whatever his bent is.
>
> OBS: Rather than pursue that failure route which you mentioned before?
>
> ER: Oh, it has never worked.

The "career spinoffs", opportunities for growth, identity, intellectual excitement, beyond the central work for pay seem very apparent:

> ER: Well, yes, I did language arts rather than reading and everybody kept saying, "You're making a mistake, you're not going to be able to get a job." I still decided that was the route I wanted to go. So then I did--I started my Masters. He advised me to write a book that could be published and this was what I was wanting to do, I still want to do that. I wanted to do it and I started and I wrote about three chapters and my husband read it and he say, "Uhhuh." He said, "Why don't you tape your presentations?"--by this time I was doing presentations to the school group--"and then try to write it." But I had a very difficult time writing "Watch It" and putting that in a book. I became very, you know, very bookish when I tried to write it and so my advice is that I think they've got it and so I had them video taped. I did hours and hours and hours of video taping and thousands of hours of editing and there's nothing worse than looking at yourself for thousands of hours.
>
> OBS: And the video tapes would be presentations to children?
>
> ER: It's the property of the university right now and can be borrowed by anyone to use them, classroom, university classrooms. It is not geared for use with children because it has the whole spectrum. What I did was just--the topic was "Language Development" and so what I did was I made my presentation--I had a Puppet Dress--I'll show it to you. I have a Puppet Dress, everything comes to life from the pockets and what it is is instilling children, exciting them about making puppets which you see, there are puppets that can be made quickly because of the value in the puppet is not in the making of it but the language that happens because of it and that's what I wanted to do, was to get over that hurdle quickly to get into actual language and communication.

So far, her account refers mostly to the initiation and transition issues. The career itself had shades of interest and individuality:

> ER: In the meantime what had really gotten me going on that, one of the kindergarten teachers in Collegeville had known that I'd always used puppets in the classroom and she was in charge of a Kindergarten Northeast Educational Meeting and wanted to know if I would talk to them. I was on the program with Carl Norris so you can imagine how excited I was except that I was thinking--if it's kindergarten children it'd have to be something that's quick and easy and simple. So I started researching--this was long before I'd started working on my Masters and then there was nothing. There was so little that I was just amazed when I found one--somebody mentioned something made from an envelope, a puppet made from an envelope, that was a Shari Lewis idea, and another book had one in it made of crocodile--made from the same cuts.
>
> OBS: Really--that was that devoid of...?
>
> ER: That devoid. Everything was made of or geared toward papier-maché, the marionettes, elaborate wood, you know, the strings which little folks can't handle and in fact, I have trouble with them myself and so I thought if I can make a puppet from an egg carton and an envelope I can make it from lots of other things. So everything I emptied in the kitchen I saved. I've got puppets--I made some from bleach bottles, detergent bottles, even the card top of a bologna package makes a terrific puppet. So, there's just no limit to what you can use. So I did that presentation and was well received and then it got me all fired up then when people heard about it and then, "Would you come to our school?" It just started increasing, it just kind of happened.
>
> OBS: Demonstrations?
>
> ER: Then I often followed it up with workshops with the children and that's what I like to do. I encourage them to have me for the whole thing or at least to let them do that part themselves and then when the children are making puppets then I go around with a puppet in my hand--if I'm not too busy cutting plastic or fake fur--so that I can interact with them and really get across to them that the puppets need attention and develop his personality and while you're working or whatever and decide what he's like and with that happening...
>
> OBS: And again, to emphasize the communication aspect rather than making the puppet which would leave them with only the puppet making as opposed to showing the...

ER: That's one big point I'm making to teachers. You know, teachers have a tendency to say, "Oh, wouldn't you look cute with that hat."

OBS: Really gussy them up a bit.

ER: Yes, what they're saying to the child is he's not done yet in my eyes, but what they're really saying, "I don't want you finished yet because you'll be raising hell but I want you to be busy as long as the others." But the child doesn't interpret it that way. So that as a point that I make to teachers--if somebody gets through, "Terrific! Why don't you go over in the corner and give him a voice?" Someone else can say, "Join John and see what you can say to each other." and I encourage them to go that route and I say try that in other things you're doing rather than saying, "Your picture would really look nice if you had a flower in his paw."

OBS: Well, that's again an interesting insight but you can again see a bias of many teachers--it's the room will be a little bit more quiet if he puts a hat on the puppet rather than talks in a corner with another kid and reacts to the noise level and so on.

ER: And all the way around.

OBS: So then you started tromping around generally in Collegeville doing those kinds of things?

ER: Local schools--in the beginning I did it for nothing and then I started charging $10 to go and you know, an hour and a half a day for $20. Well, then about--well, I think my daughter was in kindergarten and our local school renewal, and I know the principal quite well. That's one advantage I had over most of the principals in Madison in that--and they knew me and the kinds of things I did and he was starting--beginning --the school had qualified for a Title I program, Beginning. So he had written his proposal and he had written the job description, and he talked to me first, to fit me...

OBS: Is that right?

ER: Yeah, I couldn't get a job under regular things because I just cost too much but the Federal Government could afford me.

OBS: Especially if they would build you in as the expertise needed for this project.

ER: So I became a Title I coordinator at Blue Water School, half time...

The accounts, when presented in detail, offer multiple opportunities for emphasis, interpretation, and analysis. Mostly we leave these to the reader. Further, we hope that some of the "unexamined data", apart from the very fact we have chosen to present it to the reader, will be used implicitly, if not explicitly to carry out what Van Velsan (1967) has called validation through the extended case method and situational analysis.

In picking up on the part time aspect of Elaine's work history, our intent is not to denigrate "the full time careerist" position. The "spin offs", "the pluses" that seem a part of Elaine's integrative resolution of the problems surrounding careers, marriage, and family are very important. In a sense our argument seems an elaboration of Virginia Woolf's A Room of One's Own:

> ...a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction; and that, as you will see, leaves the great problem of the true nature of woman and the true nature of fiction unsolved. (1929, p. 4)

Our summary figure seems a step farther in that analysis, but not contradictory to it, of Woolf's inheritance from her aunt in Bombay.

Insert Figure 9 about here

The Lure of Teaming. For all of its difficulties, and it does have those, team teaching is one of those organizational structures that many teachers find both livable and exciting. (Smith and Keith, 1971, Ch. 7 , Shaplin and Olds, 1967). Claire Nelson found it this way:

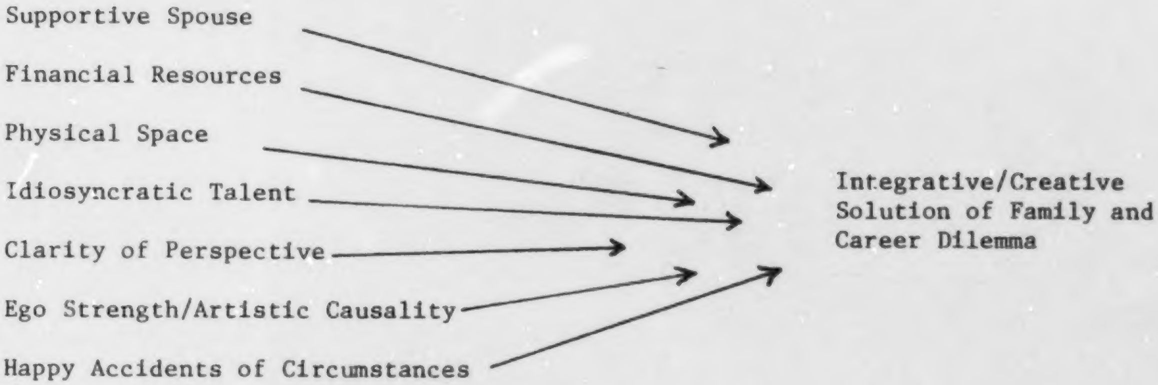
Supportive Spouse
Financial Resources
Physical Space
Idiosyncratic Talent
Clarity of Perspective
Ego Strength/Artistic Causality
Happy Accidents of Circumstances
Integrative/Creative Solution of Family and Career Dilemma

Figure 9: Aspects of Elaine's Career and Family Resolution

> CN: I was in the primary school the first year teaching fourth grade in a self-contained classroom which was a very frightening experience, the first day, having always been in teams and open school. Just the four walls around me with one group of children.
>
> OBS: Other might say that that would be very comforting, to be by yourself without all the eyes and ears about. Why was it frightening?
>
> CN: I had no one to share with, I had no one to reflect back to me what I was doing, I had no one to question on what they had observed going on, I just had nobody to plan with or to share feelings about children or the programs. I missed the sharing.
>
> OBS: At the end of the day, there was nothing you could share because no one else had been a part of that experience with you...
>
> CN: No, because they had had their four walls with their self-contained classrooms and we were all tired at the end of the first day and that sort of thing but you couldn't share in the same way that we had done teamwise.

Teaming is an idea of multiple forms when specified concretely. Claire Nelson spoke of the nature and consequences of one of those forms:

> OBS: Sounds like it's got all the ingredients.
>
> CN: Which is a good--and I did, I liked the set up, I liked the people I met while I was interviewing and I was favorably impressed by that. Then I switched to the sixth grade the second year I was there because they had an opening and they needed somebody and I guess they had looked at my team experience because sixth grade was set up with home rooms and then we had--I think six sixth grade teachers and children were very strictly academically grouped for reading and math--so you had level one through six, whatever was the level of the children, for reading and math. We each taught one science unit. Mine happened to oceanography which I inherited because the person's place I took had been teaching that particular science unit. So that's what I taught. How did we do with social studies? I don't remember, we were fairly departmentalized. We worked together a gread deal as far as all the teachers knew all the sixth graders which was partly because you could go and you could say, you know, I'm having a problem in this area, how are these children, or how is this group

> reacting with you or have you noticed this happening or whatever--there was a great deal of sharing because we all knew all of the children and it was a very exciting, happy year, much more so than the primary fourth grade totally self-contained classroom.

Teaming is a teaching style Claire responded to very positively. We probed:

> OBS: You mentioned being very comfortable in that setting, preferring it to the self-contained. Any feelings as to why? You started picking out, trying to pick your brain as to the origins of this kind of open classroom teaching. Why were you a person who seemed to thrive in a kind of team sharing setting and do not like as well as one person in front of her 28 charges?
>
> CN: Oh dear! I'm not sure, it's maybe a lack of self confidence in some respects. I want to be sure that what I'm doing is the best I can do so I want to have somebody else give me some feedback on it. I need a mirror to look into--to help me see that the children are responding either the way I think they are or to give me new ideas or to put my ideas together with theirs to come up with something better than I can do by myself. I guess I think when you've got more people working together, there is always somebody saying, "But, have you thought of...?"

Our purpose here is never to laud nor condemn team teaching. Rather it is to say that teaming is another variation in occupational roles. In its general form and in its particular manifestations it can offer particular individuals a meaningful, exciting career opportunity.

Teaching, Subbing, and.... As we have stressed, we don't know much about other occupations, but teaching is a broad rubric for a cluster of definable smaller jobs--jobs for which teacher training qualifies one. Claire's story continues:

> CN: It felt good. I substituted two days a week and I had a schedule. I was teaching again.

> OBS: You think it was the schedule? Or was it teaching itself? Could you have done something else and had the same...?
>
> CN: I don't know. I didn't consider doing anything else because I guess teaching was what I wanted to do. I never really wanted to get that far away from it. I did want a family and I did want to be with the children but I also somehow wanted to have a part in teaching and subbing seemed to be the perfect solution for me and it worked out just fine.
>
> OBS: How long did you do that?
>
> CN: Well, I subbed there that year and then since we were living out here in the valley and that was quite a drive into town, about 15 miles. And I signed up to sub out here that fall and got in on a curriculum research project that the curriculum director was soing where we went from school to school so I still wasn't really subbing. I was going around administering tests to randomly selected groups of children within our district.

In short, subbing got her back into the schools, got her noticed by someone in the central office, and then into a curriculum research project.

But even substitute teaching has its idiosyncracies:

> CN: Then I finally got into subbing. They had opened a new middle school that fall. The fall of '72 I believe it was. In the fall of '72 they opened a new middle school which was sixth, seventh, and eighth grade set-up. Part of that was to take the bulging population out of the elementary schools. We were a growing district. We are one of about three in the state that are just growing by leaps and bounds.
>
> OBS: Still?
>
> CN: Still, we've slowed down but we are still growing and they had to get some of these kids out of the elementary schools, so they switched to a middle school concept. They built this new middle school then took the sixth grade out of the elementary, putting them in with the seventh and eighth graders in a new concept in an open school which was controversial to a point and I started subbing there and I guess--I don't know if it was my Kensington background or what or my tolerance for noise, what looked like confusion to many people. I loved it there and maybe a handful--there may have been three

four or five of us who were their regular subs because subs would walk in and they'd throw up their hands at the end of the day and say, "Don't ever call me again." And I liked it.

OBS: Subs, I guess are kind of a special breed. They have to learn to put a lot of structure in their lives to survive--here's the lesson, what do we do? To kind of come in and sub in a very open setting, that's got to be tough. You've got to have a lot of tolerance then.

CN: I'm sure Kensington prepared me for this.

OBS: Sounds like it.

CN: Because it didn't bother me. The noise didn't particularly bother me whereas many people are used to--when it's quiet in the room, it's quiet--and I really had never grown accustomed to silence in a room and I could tune out noise that didn't apply to me. I could tune in on the group I was working with and know whether they were attentive or not and they were not disturbed by the groups next to them either because they knew again where their focus of attention was and I knew where mine was and I didn't really worry about people going past. I'd grown accustomed to so many people around that that didn't really bother me.

OBS: So, you felt like you were back home again.

CN: I think it did. It was comfortable, I enjoyed it--substituting very much there and I guess I subbed a couple of years there and I'd get called for elementary ocasionally. The middle schools got to their lists earliest because they started earliest. I did some long term subbing over there when one of the teachers quit mid-year. Then at the end of that year--in May of 1973--the second son was born. So again I quit for awhile. But then only 'til fall because I was back--I think I got into another job working for the state. They were doing the State Assessment of Educational Progress.

OBS: At the state level?

CN: At the state level, right. Not the national but the state one. And I can't--oh, I was subbing in the school one day when they came over and tested the kids in that school and I got to talking to them and they were, as always I guess, interested in people who might be interested in doing that. I was and I did. So I spent the next fall then--the next year in blocks as we were tested in grade and age groups--working for the state, going out and giving the tests.

OBS: Across the state or specifically in the city?

> CN: Actually I was working in the metropolitan area. They had out-state people doing out-state--well they didn't travel over the state, they just traveled in the metropolitan area giving the tests. And then I subbed in between sessions in that for that year. But as an educator--most of the people doing that were not educators. Mainly they worked--many of them worked for public opinion poll groups, research organizations but they weren't in education per se and I was bothered by not ever seeing any results. I was asking too many questions. I wasn't comfortable with not knowing why I was doing it and what I was doing for the background to it and so I...
>
> OBS: You were such a big puzzle that you don't know what...
>
> CN: Really, really, and I guess I didn't feel like I was teaching, I happened to be doing the job I was doing in school and meeting the teachers but I...

The interplay of teaching, family, and support systems and the organizational processes in schooling came round one more time with one more variation for Claire:

> CN: That was the case I guess. After that year of working for the state, I was back subbing again. A little uncertain but two small children now, a new boy and--they're just two years apart. I was very fortunate to find a sitter who was happy to take children at a phone call's notice at any hour of the morning.
>
> OBS: Yeah, that's great.
>
> CN: So I could just bundle them up, drop them off at her house, feel very comfortable that they were well taken care of and I could still sub. I just couldn't stay home full time. I still had that urge that I had to be in a school. I continued subbing a couple more years when one of the principals asked me if I'd like being a Title I teacher in this building and then he just called me one day and asked if I would like to be a Title I teacher. I said I would but what is Title I? Because I didn't have any idea. The job sounded good when he told me it was half time and it was one to one tutoring and so I went and looked into it and started the next day which would have been in November of--I had been at it four years so...
>
> OBS: That would be about 1976.
>
> CN: About, yeah.

OBS: So you've been doing that ever since that time?

CN: I've been Title I ever since. Half time.

OBS: How does that work out? Three or two days a week?

CN: No, four hours a day.

OBS: Every day?

CN: Every day, we don't start the year in September. We start about a month after the children have been in school and then we work until about a week before school's out.

When we ask ourselves, What's the significance of all this?, several conflicting reactions, not answers come to mind. First, Claire's career is not a career with a capital C. Not the career involving fifty to seventy hours per week which leads to success with a capital S. The trajectory, if such a label is used, is different from the careers of most of the men from Kensington.

But on the hand! It's very important, socially useful work (both the subbing and Title I). By her account, it's work that she enjoys and does well. It maintains continuity with, as well as it elaborates and extends her early training. It gives her a publically defined professional identity. Further it brings her into contact with adults doing comparable interesting activities. And it both allows and contributes to the satisfaction of marriage, children, and family.

As Claire gave a final summary statement on the kinds of youngsters with whom she works in the Title I program she veered off into a more general summary comment, which, in effect, indicates what she said "made the experience":

> CN: So we're between the remedial SLBP, Special Learning and Behavior Problems, teacher and the classroom. We're one step in the middle, we don't take the real serious children. We take those that may just need that extra boost that a little bit of extra time each day can give them. So we have a close relationship with the teachers in those particular grades that we service. The other teachers are very warm and friendly. They think it's--all of us are mothers who are not the sole support of our family. So it's an ideal second job--that type of thing. If you want to say we're stereotyped--we have a husband who is always earning the main wages. We're doing it as a second income, I'm doing it because I like teaching and this is a way to still be part of teaching on a regular basis.

And a bit later:

> OBS: Sounds like you like this arrangement as well as anything?
>
> CN: This is just ideal. It has really been fun. It's kept me in teaching and it has fit my own personal schedule because my children go to school, maybe five minutes before I leave for work. So I'm here with them. I don't have to get up early in the morning, I'm through in the afternoon before they are and I still have some afternoon time to myself.
>
> OBS: It does sound good because it's so rare that one can do that. Quite often, particularly women, are forced into an all or nothing arrangement. Almost forced to choose a marriage, children, a job--because those three elements mutually are incompatible. But this seems like it could really make all of them click.
>
> CN: And it--and without sounding real Polly Annish about--it's been an ideal situation. One need at this point in my life and I am, I'm in teaching and I'm working one on one which I can see children develop

If one asks, then, Is that enough?, it seems that one pushes back to, "How do you want to live?" From Claire's account she is responding strongly in the affirmative.

The Volunteer Resolution: Other Demands and Priorities. Careers, marriage, children played out differently for Kay Abbot. She left

Kensington after one year, returned to her hometown and married a man who was in the family business. Kay's resolution eventually was volunteer work. Getting there was a several step process:

> OBS: Immediately? That would have been that very fall of 1965.
>
> Kay Abbot: Yes, I attended a workshop that summer, (1965) involved in education and they were trying to place more teams in the city of Hoganstown. Because I had experience in that one team, and at Kensington, a number of us attended a workshop in Collegeville. Then I taught that year in a sixth grade team. We had another experienced teacher and myself. Then we had two interns per semester. So there was basically two regular teachers I guess and two and four interns, so there was somewhat of a turnover mid year. And we had, as I recall, 80-90 type students. From that point on that summer I intended to terminate my teaching career as I was expecting. However, that didn't happen right away. I went in in the fall because they wanted someone to kind of help with the transition to a new teacher to take my place. So I was hired for a month. From then I taught in self-contained classrooms because they were very short of teachers. I did manage to stop teaching a couple of weeks before this child arrived. Then when she was about nine months old I went back and taught in a reading program at the junior high level. This was a part time position. Then we decided that if we were going to have children that we should sort of have them close together, and so we had another two children. They were born in 1966, '68, and '69.
>
> OBS: So since that time you have not taught?
>
> KA: Right, I really felt it was my responsibility to be at home with the children. The way that situation worked out was that it was a part time job, and it was part of the job description that I could do all of my work at home. So I was in essence at the school only about two and a half to three hours. Of course, I had just the one child at that time, who napped in the afternoon, so I felt as though it was a good experience for me from that standpoint. But I think that once you have more than that number of children, it complicates things a little bit more. I have stayed home with the children. The other factor, which is a problem for me, is that there are a lot of demands placed on me in terms of a husband's business. To try to take care of three little children, and to wonder when your husband is going to bring home whomever for dinner, and try to teach at the same time is more task than I guess I could manage. I guess my priorities were simply that I feel that probably one of the most important tasks that a person

can do is mothering and parenting children, and so I felt as though that was what I was supposed to do. Subsequent to that I guess I had been exploring the possibility of some kind of a paying position. Because I think I want--I need the mental stimulation of that.

OBS: You stressed paying. I have a feeling that you have been involved pretty heavily over the last years in a lot of volunteer kinds of things.

KA: Very heavily, mostly school related. I used to spend a great deal of time at school doing volunteer type things, once, twice a week I would spend almost a full day at school. It was a nice situation for me because there was no outside preparation. I was finding out about the schools, the school my children went to. I was finding out its strengths and weaknesses and so forth. You begin to get a feel for how your children are reacting to school and I think the more you are involved the better you are at guiding their education experience.

OBS: Did you have the same feeling of impotence that I did as a parent who had taught extensively in the elementary schools, of not really knowing what your children's experience was as a parent? My own feeling was that since I had taught for nine years I was sure that when my children went off to kindergarten and first grade that I would be able to read very readily what the situation was, how my child was faring, what the school was like. I remember being shocked to find that I was forced to live on very minimal clues. I did not know anymore what was going on in that school than any other parent. Did you have that recall at all?

KA: Oh yes, but that is why I decided that the place for me was to volunteer in the school. I found myself becoming more and more frustrated because I saw something happening that I could find no justification for. I found the teachers doing some rather bizarre things. And you are in a very impotent position, because you see what is wrong, but you have no real way of changing things, other than, you know, I chatted with the principal on a number of ocasions. I said, "Hey, I just wanted to run these over the bridge and see how you are reacting to the same experience. Why is this happening?" Another thing that happened to me after they found out that I had been an educator is that they would have me working with children. I found myself carrying out lesson plans that I would very much question. So I guess I got to the point where I thought if I am going to do it I would rather be in the decision making role than carrying out the situation, but I felt very frustrated carrying out lesson plans from other teachers that I did not feel were being relevant to the situation.

The interview was interrupted with a telephone call at this point. Later, we tried to make sense of "the volunteer resolution". We phrased her ideas into Figure 10.

Insert Figure 10 about here

We pick back up on the interview as it takes on a slightly different tack:

> OBS: Could you give an example of, not to pin point a person, but are you, were you--(interrupted by a phone call from child) We just took a brief break. You were talking I think, as we broke off, that you had reached a point in your work, volunteer work in the schools, where you either had to--it seemed to me you were saying you either had to get involved professionally full time, or perhaps back off. Is that a fair statement?
>
> KA: I think that probably is.
>
> OBS: So what did you do? Is that the stage you are at right now?
>
> KA: Well, to some extent yes. I guess that was more the stage that I felt a little bit earlier. I have not volunterred to actually help in the school in the way that I used to. But part of that is the school in which my children used to go is extremely progressive, probably the most progressive school in Hoganstown. Very similar in many ways to what was happening at Kensington. Very interesting, very innovative, very idealistic, very inexperienced teachers. Having gone through and reflected on the Kensington experience I had some thoughts I guess, as to what made or makes a program strong and what makes a program weak. So I did see some problems, also some strengths. They used a lot of parental volunteer help at that school. Again, they probably felt that same fishbowl idea, since they were all kind of together, it did not seem to bother them to have parents in the classrooms. We have since purchased and are renovating this house and my children now go to a very conservative school. Whenever I have been over at the school in various capacities, volunteer on picture projects, you name it, P.T.A. type of projects, and you walk into a teachers classroom, you know right away that they would rather you not be there.

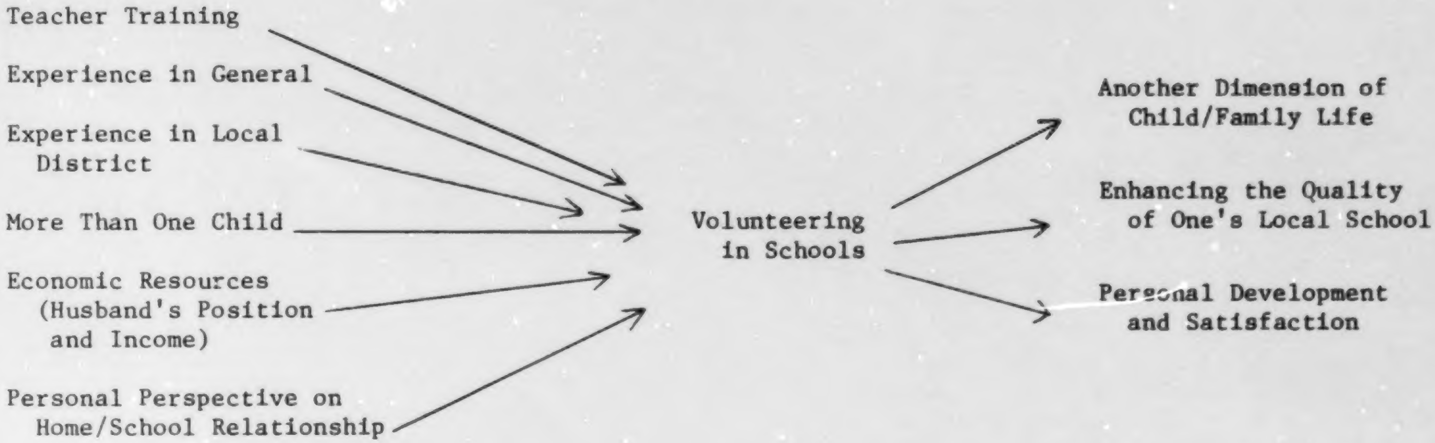
Teacher Training
Experience in General
Experience in Local District
More Than One Child
Economic Resources (Husband's Position and Income)
Personal Perspective on Home/School Relationship
Volunteering in Schools
Another Dimension of Child/Family Life
Enhancing the Quality of One's Local School
Personal Development and Satisfaction

Figure 10: The Volunteer Resolution

OBS: Not the same fish bowl?

KA: It is not, no, it is very different. Sort of a set up. I'm over there enough to make my presence known. It is just because I'm so interested in education and interested in my children's education that the teachers seem to be not as bothered with my presence, as I have heard other parents comment. It is almost like getting a special invitation to get into one of the classrooms. You know, remain undaunted and enter at will. But whatever, going back to the other experience, when my children were in a more innovative school, and they did use parent volunteers, I did get to see an awful lot of different styles of teaching and different ways that things were happening. Some of them I guess were just not very close to my philosophy and I just felt as though I could do things better, isn't that tooting your own horn--but so...

OBS: Most of the problems that you saw then were of a--could you put them on the progressive/conservative split, or were there specifically ways of relating with children? Again, that is what we were talking--I remember now, we were talking right before we broke off--I was wondering if you could give me one concrete example of something you felt you could not follow someone else's lesson.

KA: I remember doing a math situation for example, and as I reflect back I become more and more shocked that they were letting volunteer parents do it. But I was supposed to introduce a concept on double digit multiplication and as I worked with this small group of children, to work on this idea, I became increasingly aware that the children did not even have a concept of what the regrouping function was all about. And this was just beyond them. They were doing no end of misbehavior to try to tell me that they were not there yet. So I went back to the teacher and I saw, in my opinion, I think that these children are not ready for this because I see the deficiency here. She said, "No, I have already taught them that." Ever onward.

OBS: It has been covered in the book.

KA: "Yes, I have taught them." I felt like saying, "Yes, they have not learned it. You know, dear lady, there is a difference." But you see, I was not in a position of saying I disagree, at that point all I could do was be frustrated. Now, all my experiences were not that way. I certainly had a lot of very positive experiences and particularly during the couple of years that I worked in what they called the instructional material center. It's kind of expanded library material and stuff like that. They would send a lot of groups to me in that capacity and I would work with them and various kind of games and card catalogue exercises and that type of thing. I found both kinds of experiences to be quite enjoyable,

> but then you get to the point of saying I would really like to be involved in the decision making. I am frustrated carrying out other people's ideas. Be they right or wrong. I just plain wanted to be a decision maker.
>
> OBS: Have you any thoughts now, the next year, years, as far as moving into or back into education full time or...?
>
> KA: I certainly have given it a great deal of thought for the last three years. I think that is when I really felt the readiest, the real frustration of wanting more mental stimulation, wanting to do something, wanting to use whatever talents I feel in my own mind I might have. But, well, number one, we decided almost two years ago now to purchase this home, which required an incredible amount of time and effort. So that kind of delayed it. I became so involved in that situation that I kind of put it on the back burner. Then, when I started becoming more interested again I have talked to other people in education to try to figure out whether or not there is even a place for me, for my talents. I guess my biggest problem right now is I don't see how I can possibly work full time and still satisfy my perfectionist notions in terms of how I want my house taken care of, how I want my children raised, how I need to be a support personally in terms of my husband, and there are various other responsibilities that I guess I feel in terms of what I need to give to the community, strictly on a volunteer basis, through church and through other things and that. How do you work a full time job into that situation? I find myself having to say I don't see how. Now, there are very few part time situations available. So knowing this, I decided, at really my husband's urging, that maybe a more flexible job situation for me would be to become involved in the business enterprise. So, a friend of mine and I decided that we would do some market research for my husband and that kind of got me involved in just finding out how the business world operates. I have been a businessman's wife for 15 years and I understand from that standpoint, but I also understand myself well enough to know that that is not for me. (interrupted)
>
> OBS: We are back.
>
> KA: This is what housewives have to do all the time, you see, solve thousands of problems all the time.
>
> OBS: Juggling the roles?
>
> KA: Sure

Perhaps it is fatuous for us to make any interpretations off of Kay Abbot's very articulate statement of "the voluntary resolution."

Nonetheless, we will have a brief try at it. First, as unimportant as it might seem, in this short segment, the interview was interrupted by phone calls. No one has captured the meaning of this better than Tillie Olsen:

> More than in any other human relationship, overwhelmingly more, motherhood means being instantly interruptable, responsive, responsible. (1983, p. 37)

She continues regarding creativity, especially in writing and literature:

> Children need one *now* (and remember, in our society, the family must often try to be the center for love and health the outside world is not). The very fact that these are real needs, that one feels them as one's own (love, not duty); *that there is no one else responsible for these needs*, gives them primacy. It is distraction, not meditation, that becomes habitual; interruption, not continuity; spasmodic, not constant toil. The rest has been said here. Work interrupted, deferred, relinquished, makes blockage--at best, lesser accomplishment. Unused capacities atrophy, cease to be. (1983, p. 37)

Second, even in a situation far removed from Tillie Olsen's poverty, "the essential angel, maintenance of life necessity" and "the angel in the house situation," conflicts, dilemmas, and trade offs remain.

Third, The reconstrual of time and timing, "I kind of put it on the back burner" seems very important. This seems an instance of what Giele (1978) has described as "the crossover motif," a move from tasks and activities that once were considered relevant only for a particular age or stage of one's life. Neugarten and Hagestad (1977) present the most vivid image:

> Our seems to be a society that has become accustomed to 70-year-old students, 30-year-old college presidents, 22-year-old mayors, 35-year-old grandmothers, 50-year-old retirees, 65-year-old fathers of preschoolers, 60-year-olds and

> 30-year-olds wearing the same clothing styles, and 85-year-old parents caring for 65-year-old offspring. To the extent that the strength of age norms is reflected in the variability around modal patterns, we seem to be moving in the direction of what might be called an age-irrelevant society; and it can be argued that age, like race or sex, is diminishing in improtance as a regulator of behavior. (p. 52)

Giele sees the elimination of this kind of age segregated thinking as both a sequel to the reconstrual of sex segrated thinking--men's versus women's tasks, activities, and roles, and as a new form when integrated with the gender crossover motif.

Fourth, there is "no one right way," to quote another of our teachers on another point.

Fifth, the reconstrual of "success" in American social life. Early on, it was Friedan's problem without a name, the feminine mystique which defined success for a woman--marriage, children, a house in the suburbs. Now, if we understand Friedan's conception of the second stage, it is the upper middle class conception of success--a career that unilinearly moves in a rapid career trajectory from simple beginnings to a position of status, money, and power. Or, more simply, fame and fortune. Within our data, the male administrators are the clear prototypes. The question is--should all, some, or none of us, male or female, set that as a model or goal?

Finally, and to return to Kay Abbot, some people keep twisting and turning, keep trying to make it happen:

> OBS: So you were involved in a business way with a friend involved in your husband's business in marketing research?

> KA: Yes, and I realized that it is very fascinating, very interesting, but I don't like it. It is not for me. It is just not something that I want to spend my life doing. Many times I see my husband's frustrations and for him it is excellent. You know, what he wants to do but I know that is not for me. So I really don't know what I want to do. Right now I am involved in two education related areas and I have been very involved in the Children's Arts Council here, which functions basically to research and provide programs in the art related fields for all of our schools. I have also become involved in a task force which is working with the gifted and talented. That is a very fascinating type of experience. And they are beginning a program in that area. They did last year. It is being expanded next year. I spent an awful lot of time getting involved in that. One thought which has ocurred to me is to go back to school and get a further degree in that particular area. Because I see it as one of the coming fields. And I think that if I get involved in a specialized area and if there are a few of us, you then come into a bargaining position.

The Private School Option: Complications. In a discussion of some of the broader social political issues of schooling, Kay Abbot raised "the private school career option" and some of its complications:

> KA: I really am worried about public education. I'm really committed also to public education because I think it is the right way to teach children, but I think that if it continues without being internally policed that more and more people are choosing alternative education, private education. I think it is going to continue to grow and I think our support in the public schools is going to go down. I guess selfishly from my standpoint, it opens up the possibilities to me because it does become possible in a private school to do precisely what I want to do. I have had many job offers as a matter of fact, in a private school. I mean, it would be very difficult, but...
>
> And I have thought about that as a possibility but a lot of them really have problems with materials and I guess I have seen the ocean and now I want to swim in it, you know. To come out of a school like Kensington or the schools that my children have gone to in Hoganstown that are very well equiped --and an awful lot of equipment--then you see the parochial school situation that is rather deprived in that sense. It is difficult. I'm not so sure about how I feel about all that. I have felt or thought seriously about getting involved. My

> opinion is the better schools are in the city, tend not to be of the same religious background as my own, and so that could be just a little problem, nothing that is insurmountable.
>
> I can understand that. There is one Missouri Synod Church school here for example. They are involved in units, although I can't say that they actually operate in a unit in the way that we talked about Kensington. They are simply the head of a primary grouping and a head of the intermediate grouping. There is apparently a God-given law that these unit leaders must be of the male sex. Because of course, those are God's chosen people, albeit they are capable or incapable or whatever.
>
> OBS: They must be "called" as teachers.
>
> KA: Right, yes, they must be called. You must be a man called teacher to be a head of it. You know, I don't want to get involved with that. You know, why bother.
>
> OBS: Yeah, I know the feeling.
>
> KA: So to me, and if I do this, this whole thing is for self-fulfillment. The way our economy is right now, the tax structure is right now, I am certainly not going to be the sole support of my family. I would probably end up causing more of a problem to my husband than if I just didn't teach at all. But that is not the issue. The issue to me is fulfillment. But if I am going to do it for fulfillment, then I guess I find myself in somewhat of a position where I feel as though I want to call some of the shots.
>
> OBS: You have, it sounds like, a very well thought through position, unfortunately.
>
> KA: With no solution.

In Figure 11 we tried to capture and formalize a step further, her thinking about this option.

---

Insert Figure 11 about here

---

Private School Teaching Option

PROS

1. Freedom
2. Lessening quality of public schools
3. Union complications in public schools

CONS

1. Ideological conflict
2. Less resources and equipment
3. Varying quality

Figure 11: Decision Making re: the Private School Option

The Socio-Economic Option. As we commented earlier, some years ago Howard Becker (1951) made the important distinction between horizontal and vertical mobility in teacher career patterns. For his Chicago teachers a move to a better neighborhood constituted a career improvement in teaching in contrast to many occupations where one moved "up". Teaching has fewer "up" positions than the usual business organization. Our Kensington teachers suggest a further specification of his horizontal mobility. They seemed to move for "new experience," to use an earlier Chicago conception (Waller, 1932). Sometimes, this was to an upper class community.

Claire Nelson found this in her move to Sycamore Park:

> OBS: What was the sort of make up of the community? Sycamore Park is...?
>
> CN: It was very...
>
> OBS: Upper middle class...?
>
> CN: Upper middle to lower upper I would say. The uppers were in the private school but there are a great many--I think I had maybe one parent or a couple of parents who were not college graduates out of the whole set of parents. They were all very successful in their fields. And this was a change too, from the Kensington area. Economically it was just--maybe that was another reason I chose it, it was kind of nice to get out of the lower class and see how maybe the upper class--see how they lived.
>
> OBS: See how the other half lived?
>
> CN: Right, I guess I went in up over my head because Sycamore Park was definitely a community above the whole town I had grown up in which was much more middle class, average.
>
> OBS: Was the district itself fairly conservative educationally? Quite often those upper middle class districts want a good solid academic, no frills, but...
>
> CN: Yes, they did but they were also very receptive, at least the administrators I worked with were very receptive

> to new ideas and were all very--because of this, the abundance of colleges in the area, were all very academically oriented and were very supportive of going to graduate school and teaching classes.

In a sense, we have come full circle with comments on vertical and horizontal mobility, on manifest (ses levels) and latent (freedom to pursue graduate school opportunities) aspects of teaching jobs. Our most fundamental point remains, teaching is a complex of varied positions.

## 2.34 Conclusion: What's Needed?

As soon as one begins to speculate on "What's needed", one's discourse shifts another step on the continuum from "mostly empirical/theoretical" toward mostly "normative/valuational." Our efforts to untangle those metatheoretical, paradigmatic, or root metaphor issues lie mostly in Volume VI of our overall report, the methodological appendix (Smith, et al 1983). Suffice it to say, here we will present fragments of ideas, mostly guided by the value of equality. We do not approach the depth found in Codd's (1982) argument on values in special education, nor Smith's (1974) analysis of effective teaching in aesthetic education. Kanter's (1977) Men and Women of the Corporation has provided a partial model. Ideas, speculations, and values have come in from a variety of sources and run well beyond "the data."

Initially we restate a major generalization. Beyond the self contained classroom, the classical and most frequent way of organizing teaching in the elementary school, there exists a huge array of other options for teachers. Our teachers found and created a number of these, a few of which we spelled out in some detail. By way of summary we have clustered the items by time arrangements, setting variations, and positions, in Figure 12.

Insert Figure 12 about here

When one reads any one of a number of available books on women, minorities, aging, (eg. Porcino, 1983), the issue of levels of occupational position is central. The woman with no job, minimal income and recent divorce or widowhood is very different from the woman who "has everything" but A Room of One's Own (Woolf, 1929) and who has the talent and interest in writing poetry or novels. Figure 13 presents our attempts for this context. None of our teachers fell toward the extremes suggested on this continuum.

Insert Figure 13 about here

The reconstrual of teaching as a women's occupation, which has engaged our efforts and which was triggered by the proactive seeking and actualizing reported in our interviews, does not seem a rationalization as these women built their own idiosyncratic life styles. Nor is it to deny that that several in the group, in other circumstances, might well have had other "more prestigious careers," and pursued a Virginia Woolf type quest.

By isolating equality as a priority value, for the moment, we can extend the analysis. At extreme, gender equality demands a

1. Time
    - Full time
    - Part time - regular
    - Part time - episodic
    - Some years/not others
    - Volunteering

2. Positions
    - Subbing
    - Specialists (eg. language arts)
    - Title I
    - Teaming
    - Volunteering

3. Settings
    - Schools: different ses levels
    - Projects
    - Private schools

Figure 12: Variations in Teaching as an Occupation and Career

1. Creative Self-Expression
   Writing poetry, novels
2. Fame and Fortune
   Law, Medicine, Business
3. The Reconceptualization of
   Teaching
4. Job with some congruence
   with interests and talents
5. Any Job-
   low pay, minimal benefits
   difficult working conditions
6. No Position-
   No income

Figure 13: Levels of Occupational Positions, Economic Problems, and Self-fulfillment

fundamental change in society. Until some men become primary caretakers of home and children, women, apart from supermom, will not be able to have easily careers of high vertical mobility.

Second, one of the current classical solutions for high vertical mobility indicated in the writing and speculation of Olsen and Woolf is that women will have to forego marriage and children, particularly having children. Most of the Kensington women did not make such a choice.

Third, is the redefinition of "success" and the accompanying reward and status structures. Though individuals can, and must say "This is the way I want to live my life", and a number of the female Kensington teachers seemed to be saying that, it often was at a severe cost in terms of job conditions, financial rewards, and occupational prestige. None of our subjects "opted out" in some total sense toward an alternative life style. Most, who were also married, seemed to join with husbands and define themselves, as did some of the husbands, as a two person unit.

The two person unit, husband and wife, seems a major form of compromise. Rather than his career or my career the mode seems more "our lives" or "our families". While that can be a major positive integrative solution, it can be also a colossal rationalization. For most of the faculty the former seemed to be the case.

We have attempted to pull these ideas together in a simple figure, "What's needed: A Potpourri of Partially Conflicting Possibilities."

The alternatives are raised. Alternative labels which can turn the ideas into cliches have been left implicit. A brief indication of "difficulties" barely suggests the problems of reform.

Insert Figure 14 about here

As we look back over our description and analyses of "rethinking teaching as a woman's career" we believe we have raised an important interpretation. But we are also worried that it might be a huge rationalization, as some of Friedan's critics warn about her analysis of "the second stage."

Teacher education as an undergraduate major and teaching as a career has been maligned in recent years by a number of social critics. And we do not wish to be Polyanna's. But one of the striking generalizations, for our unusual group of educators, is the career and personal possibilities that they saw within the field of professional education. Obviously this is not to deny that other career routes can be exciting and fulfilling nor that many teachers find education less than Utopian. Nor is it to deny that age, sex, and marital status influence the pattern of outcomes.

| ALTERNATIVES | DIFFICULTY AND LOCUS OF CHANGE |
|---|---|
| 1. Legitimation of some individuals with total reversal of male roles:<br>Nurturant, supportive, fathers, homemakers, and "househusbands" | Major change in societal values and roles |
| 2. Redefinition and legitimation of "the good life", less careerism and materialism | Lure of "fame and fortune"; societal values |
| 3. Increase in available time, for some:<br>Earlier school entrance, acceleration<br>Scholarships and fellowships<br>Free day care, co op nursuries<br>More one and two child families versus three | Resources |
| 4. Space:<br>Physical: a room of one's own, in libraries, university departments<br>Psychological: "space in my head" | Resources |
| 5. Flexible arrangements:<br>Legitimation of non exploitive time arrangements | Organizational structures |
| 6. Specialization:<br>Narrowing the range, size and quantity of activities | Interdependency among range, quality, and quantity |
| 7. Generalist:<br>Life style of diverse stimulation | Lessens changes of vertical mobility |
| 8. Decrease nurturant needs | Socialization practices |

Figure 14: What's Needed: A Potpourri of Partially Conflicting Possibilities

# 3. LIFE HISTORIES AND CAREERS: FRAGMENTS AND ISSUES

## 3.1 Introduction

In our view it has been profitable to separate our Milford/Kensington group by position, gender, and age. Now we return to a potpourri of issues which cut across those divisions and which return us to the centrality of the innovative reform oriented nature of our group.

The issues are those which seem to be highlighted or brought into focus when one pursues the biographies and life histories of a group of individuals. Further, the issues have a twin set of emphases; they then to remain close to careers and they tend to remain close to the salient and conscious thought of the participants themselves.

A fragmented quality exists however. The items vary in length and intensity of the analysis. In addition, some were issues from the beginning, foreshadowed problems, and some arrived late, from questions of interested colleagues or tangential reading. All were grounded some way in the data, a special comment by one or another faculty member, an interpretive aside in the notes, or in some instances, salient and recurring speculations by the faculty themselves.

## 3.2 Social Context of Educational Careers

Among the truisms we have rediscovered is the generalization that jobs and careers always have a context. In our methodological volume, VI, we move beyond that truism to argue for a contextualist paradigm as a social scientific set of assumptions (Pepper, 1942; Sarbin, 1977). Here we stay with the truism and a few of the more interesting concrete items.

### 3.21 Social Timing

The timing of the original Kensington experience 1964-65 seems to us, in long retrospect, to be very significant. For the organization, it antedated the wave of support for local educational innovation generated by Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). As we indicated in Volume II, Milford's Recent History: The School District as Contemporary Context for the Kensington School, if the staff had "hung on" for another year or two a very different set of consequences might have occurred. For the teachers and administrators who left Kensington, "to pursue the grail," as we phrased it, their departure was at a most propitious time. Literally, billions of dollars in resources, expanding school populations, university fellowships and scholarships in abundance, all contributed to varied opportunities and high demand for talented young teachers. When history smiles at you, personal lives take on a glow.

Some of these ideas were brought into focus in conversations with Ivor Goodson (1982) whose English Countesthrope School teachers left their school in the early to mid 1970's when inflation, recession, and declining school enrollments created a very different ambience for individuals making career changes. Lack of career opportunities raised immense personal problems and frustrations which were particularly enervating and debilitating to his idealistic, reform oriented educational innovators.

In effect, also, we are raising one more time C. Wright Mills' argument that:

> No social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history and of their intersections within a society has completed its intellectual journey. (1959, p. 6)

We developed a conceptualization congruent with the Mills position as a "longitudinal nested systems model." Figures 15 and 16 indicate its relevance to the development of the Kensington School and its fifteen year history. We believe it is a powerful way to think about the issue of social timing.

Insert Figures 15 and 16 about here

### 3.22 Making Teaching Livable

"Making teaching livable" is a conception that has been with us for many years. For us it carries several important elements of meaning. First, that creative teaching is a demanding and difficult occupation. The stresses of living with 25 or 30 children six hours a day, five days a week and of moving them through interesting and important tasks toward significant educational goals are very great, far beyond what most parents and citizens realize. Our interview data provides considerable support for this generalization.

Second, teaching, over the long haul, staying in the classroom over the years through a career takes some strategy and some managing, if one is to retain some energy, zest, and interest. Only a minority of our teachers stayed in an elementary school classroom. All were women. The largest subgroup were the three older women.

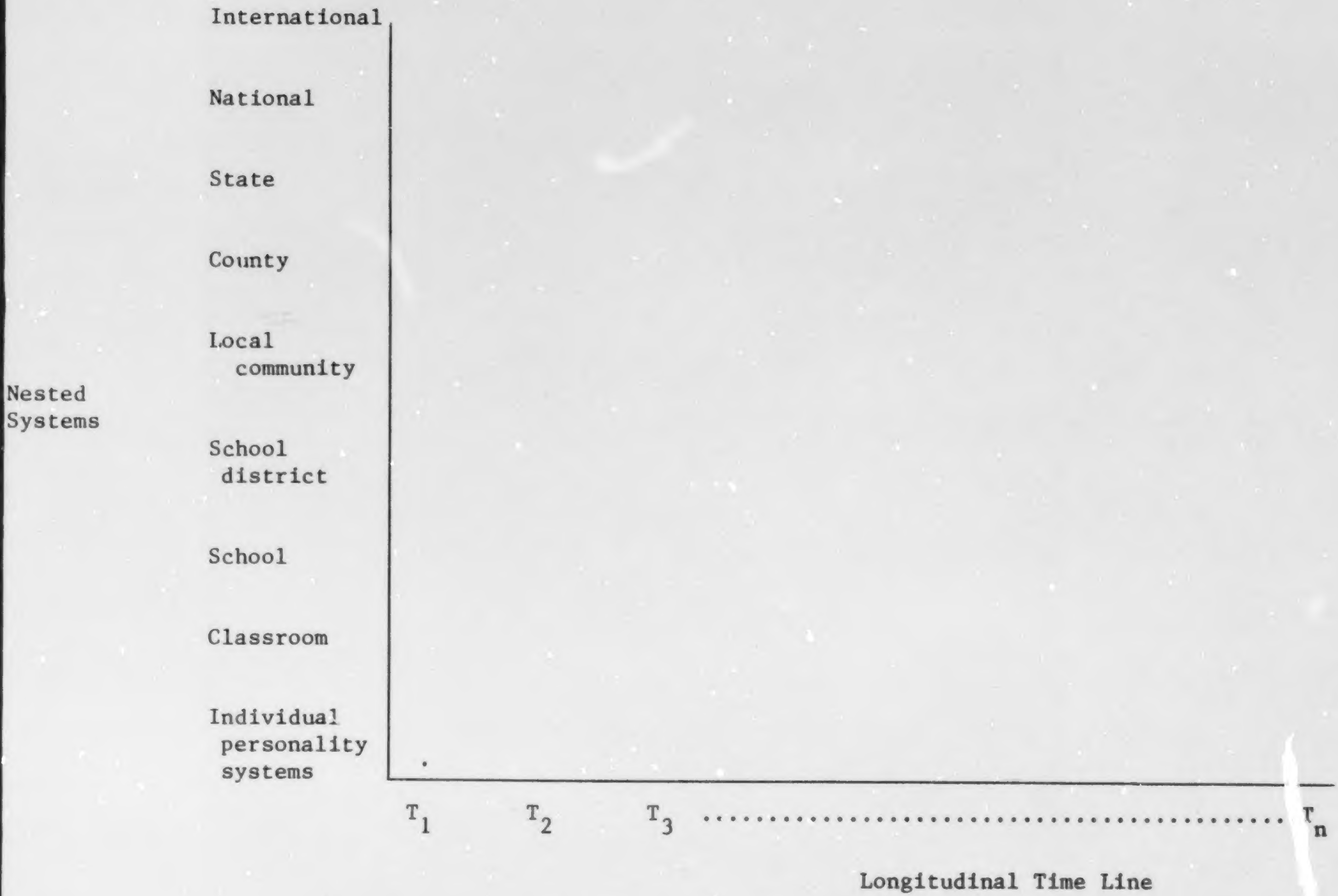
International
National
State
County
Local community
Nested Systems
School district
School
Classroom
Individual personality systems
$T_1$
$T_2$
$T_3$
$T_n$
Longitudinal Time Line

Figure 15: The Longitudinal Nested Systems Model

| | |
|---|---|
| International | World War II (1939-45)<br>Sputnik (1957)<br>Vietnam War (1960's) |
| National (USA) | Post World War II Baby Boom (1945)<br>Supreme Court Desegration Decision (1954)<br>NEA Intervention in District (1962)<br>Equal Education for Handicapped PL94-142 passed (1975) |
| State (Midwest) | State Law for School Reorganization (1948)<br>Statewide Basic Achievement Testing (1978) |
| County (Suburban) | Reorganization Suburban County Districts (1949-52)<br>County Services for Exceptional Children (1962)<br>CSES Involvement in Kensington (1978) |
| Local Community (Several Municipalities) | Population Shifts, Land Development Extensive Building of Apartments<br>Community Receipt of Federal Housing Support Further Population Shifts (1975) |
| School District (Milford) | One Room School (1910)<br>Six Director Board (1925)<br>First Superintendent Appointed: Briggs (1928-30)<br>Grey's Superintendency (1930-35)<br>McBride's Superintendency (1935-62)<br>Marquette District Annexed (1949)<br>Massive School Construction: 10 Buildings (1952-64)<br>Spanman's Superintendency (1962-66)<br>George's Superintendency (1966- ) |
| School (Kensington) | Shelby (1964-66)<br>Edwards (1966-76)<br>Hawkins (1976-79)<br>Wales (1979- ) |
| Classroom | Building Walls (1966- ) |
| Individual Personality Systems | Charismatic Personalities (Spanman, Edwards) |
| | 1910<br>1920<br>1930<br>1940<br>1950<br>1960<br>1970 |

Figure 16: Selected Events and School Personnel Arrayed on the Longitudinal Nested Systems Model

Third, we do not imply that making teaching livable is at the expense of the children. The negative image here is the one portrayed in Ken Kesey's One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest, big nurse in the mental hospital sedating patients. The making of means into ends and the neglect of the original and priority goals, conflicting as these may legitimately be, is a continuing concern (Smith, 1972; Codd, 1982).

Finally, we would caution that "making teaching livable" has an important context in the "kind of life one wants to live." Where one's job, occupation, position, career fit into the rest of one's life is not an idle question, as our entire report testifies. Although book length biographies would be required to do justice here, we do feel that our long interviews begin to indicate aspects of this part of the meaning.

We have commented about a number of the general beliefs of the Kensington faculty. These items were clarified in the conversations with several individuals. One more illustration emphasizes our point:

> OBS: Do you recall at that time, that you were carrying over any of Kensington with you or where you shared with your teaching colleagues here the experience...
>
> Sue Norton: I tried to, I really did, one of the things I enjoyed about teaching was working with staff members, sharing ideas, things that we had been able to do, trying to initiate some of the openness that we had. I always had the feeling that before I came everyone talked about kids in the lounge. Nobody talked about programs and things to do with groups of kids. And I'd get in there and we'd start talking about, you know, well, somebody would say, well, how can I teach paragraphing. Well, I had some ideas from Kensington, I mean you know, from someone else because there had been so much sharing on that sort of thing and that part I enjoy.
>
> OBS: And the biggest factor is the team teaching aspect?

SN: The team teaching aspect in terms of the way we did it, Basic Skills where you could teach to your expertise, but you weren't slotted only. Where we worked with a variety of ages 'cause we all worked with the youngest and we all worked with the oldest in that division. But it's a combination 'cause it was the team teaching and it was also the creativeness that we were part of the curriculum, decision making process, that was really frustrating. The other was irritating and upsetting because of the things I didn't do well. It bothered me that there was no one else on the team to pick it up. Here, the curriculum was just plain frustrating because I had no choice. I mean, I--at that time I was forbidded to do individualized reading. I had to stick with the text books, because every child had to have level tests at a certain period of time. And they had to go into their permanent record files so if you didn't teach the program and you didn't do the testing, you would be depriving the kids. This was the administrative position, so you had to teach the curriculum as it was presented.

OBS: It's not only the curriculum per se but it's the next level up if you like, administratively, that helps control the curriculum?

SN: Yes

OBS: Did you have big run ins with people--the principals or assistant superintendents or supervisors?

SN: We didn't have any assistant superintendents at the time, didn't really have a supervisor. Run ins with the principal? No, not really. You didn't run in with them because you did not have any choice. Maybe I could have, maybe I could have fought it more. I didn't feel that I had the choice. Since then, things have opened up a little bit here.

OBS: In the community school?

SN: In the community schools, not a lot and depending upon the building, learning centers have made their way in--some classrooms...

Independently of the Kensington Revisited project, one of our contentions holds that the occupation of teaching is not particularly livable or workable. This perspective grows out of our experience in several school systems, universities and research projects. In summary form it parallels the more formal position stated by Schaefer in his book, The School as a Center of Inquiry. Our summary of his analysis appears as Figure 17.

Insert Figure 17 about here

Concepts such as collegial authority, scholar-teacher, and the school as a center of inquiry are items in strong debate these days. The financial interests and political interests implied in altered teacher education programs, in reduction of teaching loads, and in sustained school-university cooperation are clearly even more debatable.

Sue's comments capture pieces of the broader, articulared, and more well worked out position of Schaefers. By subsuming the two positions under the phrase, making teaching livable, we are urging one more time the difficult valuational, conceptual, and empirical issues underlying educational theory and practice.

### 3.3 Ph. D.'s: Programs, People, and Educational Innovation

### 3.31 The Problem: Then and Now

As long time university professors with heavy involvement in research programs and training at the doctoral level, our experience at Kensington has been unsettling to say the least. Early on, we did an analysis of "the problems associated with all but the dissertation." This appeared as Figure 10.4 in Smith and Keith's (1971) analysis of "career concerns and arrangements." We include it here as Figure 18.

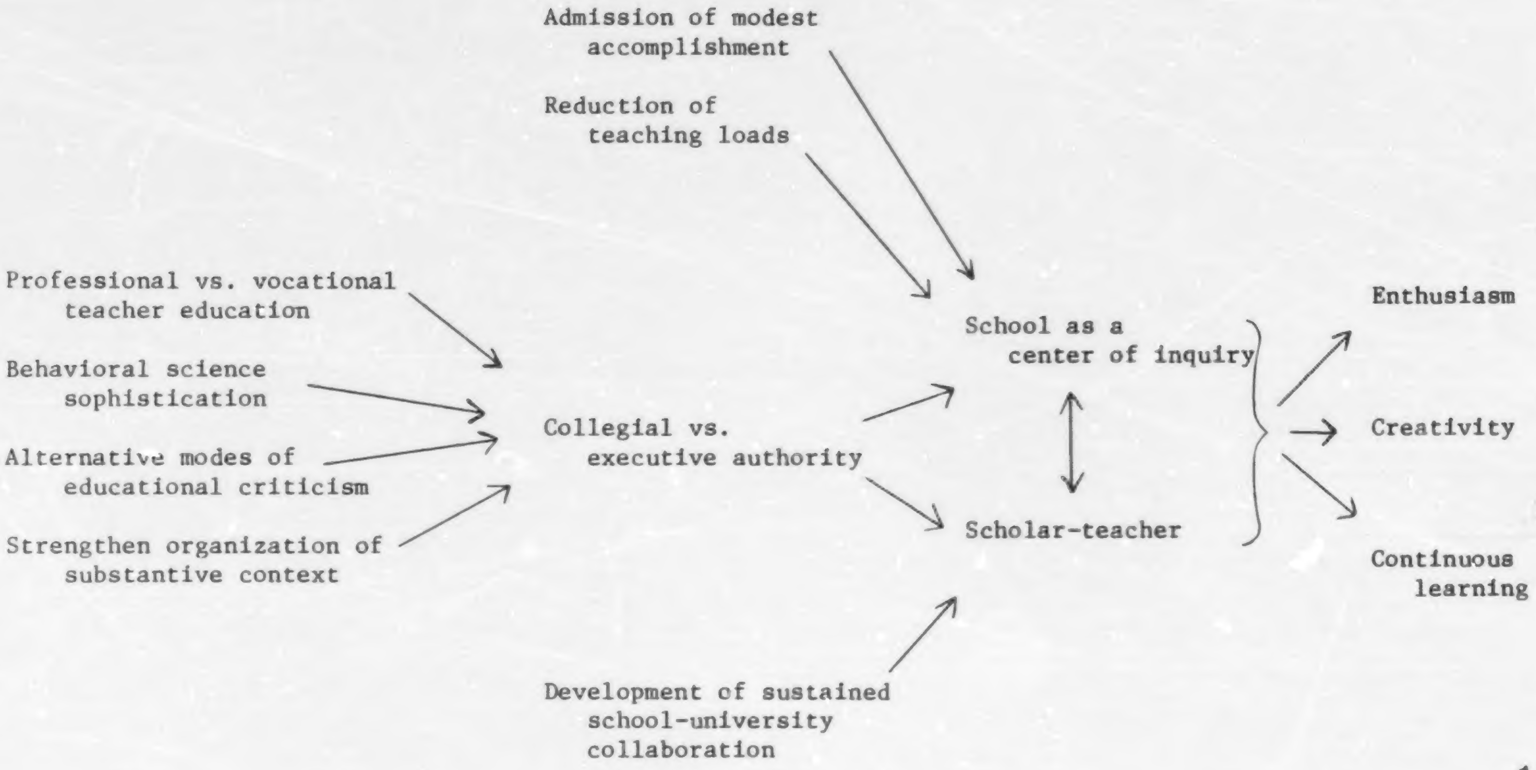
Admission of modest accomplishment
Reduction of teaching loads
Professional vs. vocational teacher education
Behavioral science sophistication
Alternative modes of educational criticism
Strengthen organization of substantive context
Collegial vs. executive authority
School as a center of inquiry
Scholar-teacher
Development of sustained school-university collaboration
Enthusiasm
Creativity
Continuous learning

Figure 17: Schaefer's Conception of the Scholar-Teacher and School as a Center of Inquiry

Insert Figure 18 about here

The interviews provided considerable data to rethink and largely to reemphasize that analysis.

Our impressions then were that the Ph. D. programs, which were underway with several of the faculty--particularly Eugene Shelby, Tom Mack, and John Taylor, were not particularly helpful or useful for carrying out the task which the Kensington/Milford staff had set for itself. We had focused particularly on the unfinished doctorate, all but the dissertation and the hopes several had for working out the dissertation in the Kensington setting. None knew a research style that could be used. As we talked with them then we had real questions about the nature and quality of the programs.

When we returned fifteen years later the Ph. D. programs were part of our focus. Our mode of reporting is two fold. First we summarize a few of the basic facts about the Ph. D. and the careers of the people. Second, we present more extended pictures of two of the faculty, Eugene Shelby and Sue Norton. Bits and pieces of the doctoral experience of the others have presented as context for other ideas and themes elsewhere in the report. Finally, we present some personal thoughts and biases about a possible Ph. D. program.

Scattered through our interview excerpts are comments about graduate work, the varied Ph. D. curricula, and the dissertation by the eight individuals who were seriously involved. We have briefly organized some of the data on the group as Figure 19.

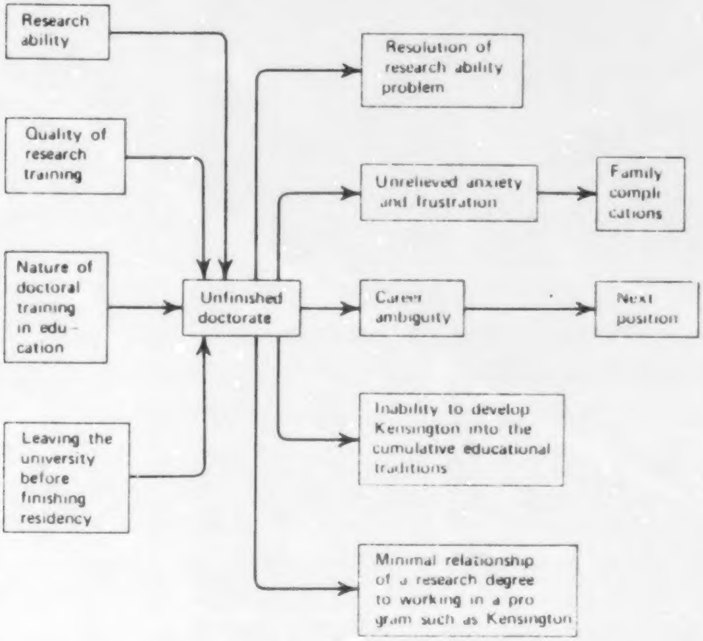
Research ability
Quality of research training
Nature of doctoral training in education
Leaving the university before finishing residency
Unfinished doctorate
Resolution of research ability problem
Unrelieved anxiety and frustration
Family complications
Career ambiguity
Next position
Inability to develop Kensington into the cumulative educational traditions
Minimal relationship of a research degree to working in a program such as Kensington

Figure 18: The Problems Associated With "all but the dissertation."

(Smith and Keith, 1971, p. 352)

Insert Figure 19 about here

### 3.32 Relevancy and Irrelevancy

For most of the group, the dissertations provoked reactions of trauma, irrelevance, or sometimes both. Shelby's experience had a wrinkle or two. But beyond the dissertation, the Ph. D. program and residency served other functions.

Graduate school permitted Eugene Shelby a legitimate means of dropping out for a couple of years to rethink personal and career goals:

> ES: And I really, obviously, needed to work and have some income, but it was more than that. I was really getting motivated to get back into school work, and so one thing was that I had maintained--I don't know what you would call it, the terminology, I will say face validity. During the time I was out there doing all this stuff, I could say, you know, I'm working on my dissertation.
>
> OBS: So all the public knew you were doing the university bit as it were.
>
> ES: Yeah, so it did not tarnish my reputation or anything like that. And so I decided, hey, I was ready to get back into it.

The dissertation itself posed other problems. As Shelby was talking about other items he interpreted a comment on the uniqueness of his dissertation experience:

> OBS: You had also intended to pursue the dissertation. Was that taking off any...
>
> ES: Yes, yes, that was taking along what I did in a data collection--well, actually I worked with three others, we had a team study, where we did our data collection together, this was very involved and time consuming, intensive sort of thing. After I got that all done, I didn't know what I was going to do with it.

| Completed Doctorate | Progress and Time of Award | Personal Reaction to Dissertation | Contribution to Career Mobility |
|---|---|---|---|
| Steven Spanman | Pre-Kensington | Do it and be done with it quickly | Yes |
| Jerl Cohen | Pre-Kensington | An exercise | Yes |
| Eugene Shelby | Post-Kensington | "I hated it", irrelevant | No |
| John Taylor | Post-Kensington | False starts, but relevant | Yes |
| Alec Thurman | Post-Kensington | An exercise | Yes |
| Incompleted Doctorate | | | |
| Dan Hun | ABD<br>Post-Kensington | Perenial resident student | No |
| Sue Norton | ABD<br>Post-Kensington | Part of being seduced into the wrong career | No |
| Tom Mack | ABD<br>Pre-Kensington | Don't really need it | No |

Figure 19: The Doctoral Puzzle

OBS: When you were here, coming back?

ES: Right, trying to tie four dissertations together, conceptually was not an easy thing, but we got it done.

OBS: Four dissertations? You and three others?

ES: Yes, I got that done.

OBS: Divert for a moment on that then. I want to come back to the pre-Kensington that "ascent kind of notion," intellectually and emotionally and so on, but can you tell us a little bit of the particulars about how four dissertations got interlocked in, and your data gathering? I guess all four of you were data gathering during those years you were first back here.

ES: Well, I was at the Regional Unit when I started the dissertation.

OBS: Right, you were collecting data.

ES: And my professor was very concerned that I get on with it, and he thought I kept dawdling around, and there were three students there who were in the current program, who were getting on with their dissertation, so somewhere in the discussions they had been advocating doing team studies because of the cost or logistics of it, that they--you--there was just this limitation for any individual. It made a lot of sense, so there were three other guys and I who met together a lot to determine, you know, just what it was we were going to do.

We had some common interests you know, the administrative behavior of elementary principals, and so we worked a lot together and worked out the details and we gathered data from twenty schools across the state in the major cities of Southwest State and we did a lot of observation of principals in the administrative behavior.

OBS: Was the connection simply in data gathering?

ES: Yes

OBS: There were no actual joint dissertations, or shared writings?

ES: Right, right.

OBS: What was the title of yours specifically?

ES: I hate to tell you. Of my dissertation? It is way too long. I can't remember--it was--a--relationship of situational and personal variables, I think--no--that is--I can't remember what was in the title and what was in the, you know, what was--anyway, looking at the certain facets of the administrative behavior of elementary principals in high and low social economic schools in urban settings. That was not all in the title, but I hate to say, most of it was.

OBS: At the point when you took the principalship, did you have any feeling that you would ever pick it up again, or?

ES: I always assumed that I would finish it, and every year I would get a letter from the professor saying I had better finish it. And you know, I would say, alright, this is going to be the last year. Well, finally, of course, my first two years out here was kind of like Kensington but then I got a letter, and for some reason I knew they meant it, and I thought that it was foolish not to, so I would stay up late at night and occasionally I would stay home for a couple of hours in the morning and work on it and I think it took me about a couple of months to do.

OBS: Finally when you put your mind to it?

ES: Yeah, I had invested so much into it. I really did not have any intention to not finish it but it was just a matter of making myself do it. I hated every minute of it.

OBS: Do you have any other reflections on the experience that again, it doesn't sound like the kind of positive culminating experience of a long educational training.

ES: The data collection of it, I was working with these three other guys, talking about what we were going to do, and what we were going to study, and getting it set up, and being in the school, you know, I saw a lot and learned a lot of things, and we established very close relationships that we maintained somewhat, but you know, like everything else, time diminishes it. Another interesting thing about it was that it put me in two generations of graduate students because my colleagues from earlier, and I have also maintained contacts with some of them, gives a very positive experience in my early, two years of residency. But anyway...

The people, the collegial quality of two generations of students, were the salient aspects. The substance of the dissertation seemed irrelevant or unimportant. The several years spent doing/not doing the dissertations had elements of trauma.

## 3.33 Talent, Gender, and Other Complications

Sue Norton's experience is special on the one hand but contains several generalizable elements as well:

> SN: And I enjoyed it at City University but I like the academic life and I'm not real sure that I wouldn't have enjoyed any course of study and this was good because it gave me something I could come home with.
>
> OBS: And into the Ph. D. program--was that your feeling at the time or is this your kind of reconstruction as you look back? You said it clearly was the wrong program for you, is what you said.
>
> SN: It's reconstruction.
>
> OBS: During the time, what were you thinking? What were you preparing for?
>
> SN: How can I get in more linquistic courses? Couldn't I take an English course? I really don't want to do a research project, I can't--can't do the kind of dissertation that they want me to do. I can do a soft one, I could do an English major dissertation but I clearly couldn't do a City University Department of Education dissertation and I knew that at the time.
>
> OBS: Then it was the lure of academic pursuits at the City University, that was occurring but not the specific program?
>
> SN: Right, right.

Later in the interview we returned to the Ph. D. program and the dissertation:

> OBS: So you did all the course work, took all the exams and everything but actually drafting a proposal and doing a problem and...

SN: Right, exactly.

OBS: When you left the University, did you know you would not finish or?

SN: No, I thought I would finish but once I got away from it, my advisor left the next year, right? And with him gone the impetus really sort of disappeared for doing it 'cause I hadn't made that firm a connection with anyone else to get anything started and I really never really pinned down anything that I could realistically do with a dissertation.

OBS: Was that your problem, his problem, the program's problem?

SN: That's my problem.

But, as the discussion continued a number of additional items appeared which extends the analysis of problems with the Ph. D. We had talked about our research proposal:

OBS: I see what you mean by the proposal and the comments we made in that because that was--it was a section there of the role of the dissertation in the lives of the people.

SN: Oh, I must tell you what my comment was--my old English major came right out while I'm reading it and the educationese and the proposalese, the language that has to be used and you know, no wonder I couldn't write one, I couldn't write that language, I don't even think that language let alone write that language. It's a foreign language to me--yeah, definitely a dialect.

OBS: And I thought you were almost finished.

SN: No, well, I kept coming up with brilliant ideas that were not researchable, you know. They were interesting to think about and to fanti--not fantisize, but you know, to project, theorize about but they weren't things that you know, make a nice little experiment.

OBS: Could you just talk a bit about comparing that with the Kensington staff? It strikes me there's a sort of a parallel, that at Kensington there was a lot of freedom to explore, a lot of ideas, some of which came to fruition, many of which did not. A lot of creativity, a lot of things dying to be done. City University, a lot of freedom, a lack of guidance, a lot of great creative ideas, a lot of them didn't get pursued, is there some parallel there that, say, a person attracted to a Kensington would be attracted to a City University? Or are those just two coincidental events?

SN: I don't know--I felt and had a whole lot of guilt feelings at City University and the year or two after that because I felt that I was the only one who was doing that kind of thing in this group and here we were all being paid by the government, that we were supposed to be goal directed and I wasn't, never have been, and probably never will be. I think my being attracted to Kensington and enjoying Kensington and what I did at City University are probably connected because that's the kind of person I am. I'm not real sure that I went to City University thinking that that's what I'd get to do. I really thought that somehow or other, someone would help me and I'd learn how to write a dissertation at the end of it. When I went in, I didn't go in thinking I wouldn't complete the program, that I wouldn't end up with a Ph. D.

OBS: And even after you came back here you thought you would finish up?

SN: Oh, right--yeah, I really did--I thought, you know, here all--okay, now I had a real school system that I could get into and do some research in if I wanted to but...Yeah, and so really it did, you know, I felt--but again then there was absolutely no direction, nothing...

OBS: When you were talking about the dissertation you kind of drew a little square with your hand--that conveys to me a kind of an image of the dissertation--can you tell me what you meant? If I got you right, in terms of when you were talking that way, what that means or?

SN: Okay, I saw the kind of dissertation that was wanted from City University as a closed ended study, neat, technical, statistical, something that when it was done it was bound, not that you'd never think about it or go any further from it, hopefully you would, but it was something that had a definite beginning and a definite ending.

OBS: And in that sense closed off?

SN: Closed off, right, rather than the undergraduate pieces I wrote and the master's thesis I wrote were both totally open ended, they both started, they were both more creative writing than research oriented and I did well in both of those, that's my kind of...

OBS: What were the problems that you looked at in each of those? Can you remember the title of or roughly what...?

SN: The undergraduate one was the study of Mythology so it was poetry and the master's thesis, they called it one I guess, was on an English language arts curriculum K-12.

OBS: That you created?

SN: That I created.

OBS: And did you teach it or anywhere--just create it?

SN: No, just created it, you know, top of the head, my opinion, it was based with, you know, lots of readings and things to back it up but it was very much a theorizing on information, it wasn't an evaluating procedure.

OBS: And that an extension of that kind of thought or idea, you didn't perceive as a possible Ph. D. dissertation?

SN: No.

We pushed one final time regarding Sue's dissertation:

OBS: I guess I'm still curious as to...

SN: Why don't I want to get a Ph. D.? After I put all that work into it?

OBS: No, no--that's more specific I guess than I would really mean it, just--and maybe you've really said all you have to say about Ph. D. programs. Do you have any feelings of, my god, I should have finished that or...?

SN: There's some guilt--there's some guilt there because I--and mainly because it was handed to me on a silver platter and I never did anything with it so that's--there's some guilt but once I was away from it--once I got here and got very involved in my husband and then having the baby which I did, what, less than two years after--it was what, like 18 months I guess after I left City University that we had the baby and then being physically very, very ill shortly after I had my daughter, this--that just disappeared--that wiped it out--after that there was no--no thought of finishing it. When I got pregnant, that kind of put fini to the Ph. D. And I don't know...

OBS: Reinforced by the illness?

SN: Yeah.

OBS: Real sick?

SN: Yeah.

180

We have pulled many of these elements together in an overly simple and too linear a summary figure.

Insert Figure 20 about here

Perhaps the greatest lesson for us, from reflecting on Sue Norton's experience is the need for professors to see that a Ph. D. is just one of life's alternatives and not the be-all nor end-all of existence. Though it sounds like a cliché, one needs to put the program and the degree into a perspective of careers and ways to live. But even as we say that, the issues of gender--socialization experiences, parental expectations, societal expectations, and self expectations--come crashing in upon us. Even if gender issues were resolved or eliminated, and as several other experiences attest, that suggests further, the need for mechanisms to leave Ph. D. programs without feelings of guilt, inadequacy and of inferiority. Also, it seems that greater clarity at the front end of a program is required. People often are fleeing from something or do not have a clear view of the multiple professional goals, only a few of which require the degree. And there are Ph. D. programs and Ph. D. programs. Some are clearly oriented toward academia, as was City University's program. Others tend to be more localist and practitioner or professionally oriented. Most probably aren't clear about which they are about or feel that one program, their own, can serve any kind of outcome for any audience.

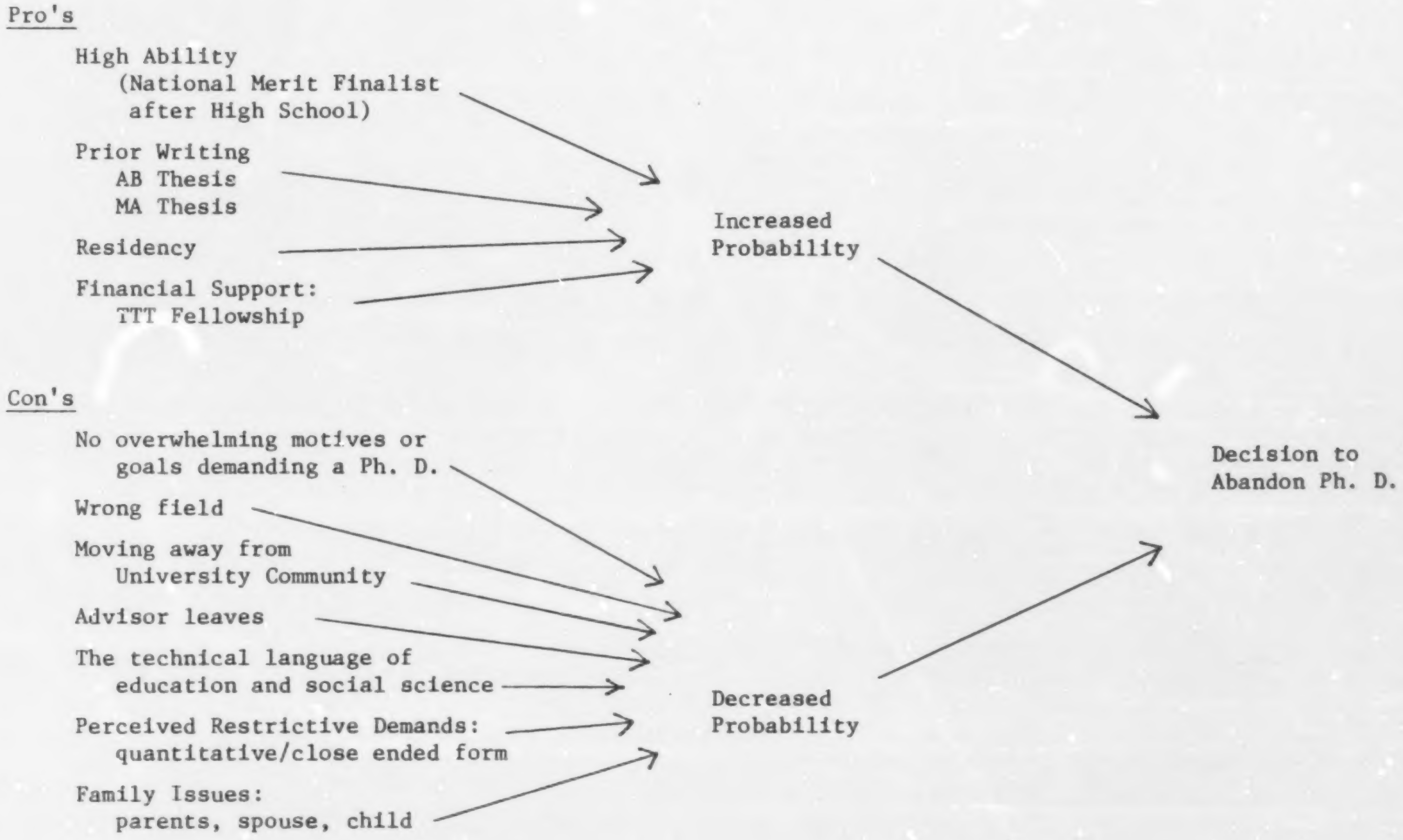
Pro's
High Ability
(National Merit Finalist
after High School)
Prior Writing
AB Thesis
MA Thesis
Residency
Financial Support:
TTT Fellowship
Increased
Probability
Con's
No overwhelming motives or
goals demanding a Ph. D.
Wrong field
Moving away from
University Community
Advisor leaves
The technical language of
education and social science
Perceived Restrictive Demands:
quantitative/close ended form
Family Issues:
parents, spouse, child
Decreased
Probability
Decision to
Abandon Ph. D.

Figure 20: Complexities of Ph. D. Probabilities

Finally, there appeared to be a bit of irony built into the match up of programs and Kensington faculty. The bright, analytical individuals attracted to Kensington seemed to be drawn to the elitist institutions least likely to encourage alternative dissertation models and therefore a small "Catch-22" emerged. It seemed for our participants, the leading research institutions did not further or nurture the ideals and dreams of our reform minded educators. In effect, they tended to feel a need to conform or get out.

### 3.34 Toward an Alternative

The resolutions to experiences as diverse as Shelby's and Norton's remain unclear, but several opening thoughts come to mind. First, within the Ph. D. program itself it seems reasonable to argue for two kinds of more extended field experience. For some, more time in a traditional classroom and school seems warranted. The importance of concrete images of and skills related to "the villains and dragons", they eventually hoped to slay seem important. For many the images were from the experience and perspective of the pupil and their own elementary and secondary school years. While this is important it seems less than sufficient.

Secondly, more extended experience in an innovative, idealistic, reform oriented setting. A semester or a year in a British primary school, an alternative high school, or an activity school seems important also. Finding such settings, in an historical period such as today's back-to-basics national climate would have its difficulties.

In discussing the kind of research style, we tend to become self serving. Although we see strong merit, in general, for the variety of research modes--experimental, historical, survey, and ethnographic--we believe the latter has particular potency for educators who have a strong practice orientation or a strong reform focus within the practice orientation. Without tracing the argument in detail, we have found Atkin's (1973) general call for "practice oriented inquiry" persuasive. But even more specifically, in an earlier investigation (Smith and Dwyer, 1980) we made an argument for the exploration of several ethnographic field research traditions. We phrased the argument this way:

> Obviously, other approaches, centers and organizational structures exist and provide even more creative and productive alternatives for exploring qualitative case study efforts. We know them only indirectly, peripherally or tangentially. These fragments represent the preliminary notes for a research proposal in the sociology and the psychology of knowledge. The thesis is simple and straight forward. IAP was a large scale qualitative inquiry, articulation, and consultative assistance project. It represents a particular combination of these processes. During the last 50 years there have been a half dozen (and more) interesting efforts which combined these same ingredients in various ways and which have survived in various ways. Learning about them might contribute to IAP's original goals...

---

Insert Figure 21 about here

---

> In putting together the listing, the criteria seem to be 1) we know of them and were impressed by them. That is, we found them stimulating, exciting, and potent in helping us shape a point of view. 2) They are highly diverse, at least on the surface. Some seem predominantly university clusters around a key individual, idea, or point of view. Other connect with publishers and commercial dissemination. Some have moved from invisible colleges into formal organizations. Others, as in number seven seem like "a floating crap game" of educationists who have come together in overlapping groups,

1. The Society of Fellows and Yankee City Strands (Homans, Whyte, Kimball, Arensberg et al)
2. The Chicago Symbolic Interactionists (Mead, Becker, Blumer, Geer, Goffman, Lortie, Strauss, M. and R. Wax et al)
3. The Columbia Functionalists (Merton, Blau, Gouldner, Selznick, Lipset)
4. The Stanford Educational Anthropologists and Holt, Rinehart and Winston Series (Spindler, Boynton et al)
5. The Action Research Tradition at Teachers College, Columbia University (MacKensie, Corey, Foshay)
6. Formalization into Organizations
    1. Society of Applied Anthropology
    2. Council on Anthropology and Education
7. The Case Study/Participant Observation/Evaluation International Network: a series of conferences

    1972 Cambridge I
    1975 Cambridge II
    1976 Alerton
    1976 Monterrey
    1976 Bielefield
    1978 Wingspread

Figure 21: Alternative But Comparable Traditions in Case Studies in Field Settings

(Smith and Dwyer, 1980, p. 444)

> who haven't jelled into anything formal as yet, and who find talk and interaction stimulating for their own work--a wide variety of teaching, research, curriculum development, evaluation type of activities. 3) Some of the individuals have developed their own private consulting organizations, others have consulted in business and government, others have moved into academic administration. Theory and research mis inextricably with practice. They seem to have done some of what IAP was doing and what Harper is hoping to do. The stories that exist and might be told would combine into a mix of historical method, document analysis, interviews, oral history, and even a bit of participant observation. Multiple models exist--Toulmin and Goodfield (1961, 1963, 1965), Toulmin (1972), Kuhn (1972), Crane (1972), Hagstron (1965), Clapesattle (1956), and so on. In our view this is a huge and largely untapped reservoir of knowledge. Or perhaps it's common knowledge--to everyone but us.[9]

The kind of course work implied in the experiential and research dimensions also has huge complications. An introductory paragraph from a recent document on Washington University's "Educational Theory and Practice" Ph. D. program captures the thrust of the idea we are suggesting:

> The Ph. D. Program in Educational Theory and Practice takes seriously each of the terms in its title. The program accents educational concepts in contrast to accenting, or being, applied psychology, sociology, anthropology or other social science. Similarly, the program is concerned about ideas and the intellectual phrasing of problems, issues and solutions. Abstractions, interpretations, and theory in their multiple forms and guises are a part of our agenda. Finally, practice or practical action, as it occurs in our classrooms, schools, or other learning settings is fundamental to our concerns. Teaching students to inquire into education, theory, practice and their interrelationships is at the core of the program.
>
> Another way of phrasing the domain concerns the kind of outcomes expected from the program. We are committed to the expansion of common sense approaches to teaching with more self-consciousness, creativity, and critical reflectiveness. Allied

---

[9] Our colleague John Prunty has labeled this nicely, "Genealogy 101." Collectively, we are pursuing it in Seminar.

> with that is a concern with ways to make teaching more livable, interesting, and intellectually exciting and with ways to communicate and share that with one's students and colleagues.
> (Department of Education, Washington University, nd)

In a sense, the appeal to some of our own work and to the Washington University context is to argue that our (especially Smith in this instance) teaching practice and our institutional programs and commitments have been influenced by our research experience and collegial relationships with our "subjects".

### 3.4 Marriage, Families, and Careers: One More Time

With some fears of being labeled sexists, one of the generalizations we have been wrestling with is the interdependence of gender and teaching as a career. The old fashioned way of speaking is that teaching is a woman's profession, like nursing, secretarial work, and perhaps social work. If the feminine mystique (Friedan, 1963) has been broken significantly, and we believe it has, with increased number of women attending business, law, and medical schools and beginning those careers, it seems reasonable to us, that the second stage (Friedan, 1981) which has to do with personhood for women and men and which requires a reanalysis of family issues might demand a second look at teaching as an occupation for a married woman. Further, it seems important to see it from the special perspective of the talented, innovative reform oriented women and men from Kensington.

### 3.41 Realities, Complexities, and Trade Offs: Claire Nelson's Perspective

Claire Nelson's offhand comments sketch out her resolution. It began when she finished her fourth year of teaching, two year at Kensington, her second year at Sycamore Park:

> CN: Yes, June of 1968 I left to get married. Otherwise I probably would still be there. I very much did like--oh, my first year was the fourth grade and then the second year, I was asked to move to sixth grade in the middle school, that was fifth and sixth grades.

We did not go searching for "women's issues", they came up, unsolicited in a number of forms. As we talked to Claire Nelson:

> OBS: How long did you stay there?
>
> CN: Two years again and then I resigned. I had to resign because I was pregnant and I just preceded all of the court cases to call that discrimination.
>
> OBS: You did not take a maternity leave?
>
> CN: It didn't exist at that point, at that time. People told me that I was lucky to stay till the end of the year with my due date in August. I was healthier that year than most of the other teachers. I had no sick days whatsoever.
>
> OBS: Yeah, their big arguments were somewhere, as I recall those years, about the fifth month of pregnancy was supposed to be the turning point.
>
> CN: But I made it seven months and taught all year and was perfectly healthy and had just a marvelous time. So...
>
> OBS: So he was born then August of...?
>
> CN: In August, 1971.
>
> OBS: You taught in all then, two years?
>
> CN: Two years there in Silverton and that ended my full time formal teaching. Having a baby and staying home was exciting. It was definitely wanted. But somewhere deep inside me this was not working out and I had terrible skin problems that winter. I had rashes and I went to the dermatologist for months

> trying to figure out what was wrong. He could not diagnose it and I finally told him, kind of, up until that time I had not been in school. As I was then I didn't have a schedule. I had a baby to take care of but I did not have any obligation to the outside world and it evidently was a very frustrating feeling for me and I said, "Do you think it's pretty much psychological?" He said, "Well, we haven't come up with anything medical..."
>
> OBS: Might as well try it...
>
> CN: That's as good as any and at that point I signed to substitute teach in Silverton which was the district where I had been teaching, thinking that that would be comfortable. I think I taught about two days a week, made arrangements with a friend who had a baby his age and she took them both. Instantly, my rash went away.

Claire Nelson has just been married, has given up her teaching position in Sycamore Park to move to North City, is in the middle of her M.A. and has elected to finish part of this before job hunting.

Experientially, "teaching and parenting" becomes a further part of the complexities of teaching as an occupation and career. Claire Nelson continued to comment insightfully:

> OBS: On that dual role of parenting and teaching. Not a lot is said--we make a lot of clichés that the good teacher is the one who has the children themselves or the teacher who said, "Well, that's when I was a second grade teacher and knew it all before I had children of my own." We all talk about the contribution. Are there ways though, that you think perhaps your teaching experience modified your parenting or your having two children has altered your conception of learning? Is there anything that you can think of that...?
>
> CN: Yes, in some ways I wish you could first be a parent and and also first be a teacher.
>
> OBS: Both.
>
> CN: There's no way to do both of them first but you do become more realistic as a parent when you see the day to day things that your children are doing and their day to day needs and I guess the things I want for them as a parent make me

more concerned about what they're getting in their education. That's formally happening to them in school. It's important to me in a different way because I know what my goals are for them as a parent plus I was--as a parent with--now that I am working with the young children and I have children the same age--it's much more comfortable to identify with those children that I am dealing with and with their problems and when I talk to a parent I have greater credibility because I can say, "Yes, my first grader is going through this or has done it." There's a greater degree of confidence I can get in them or they will have in me because I've got children of that same age. Because I can remember making many really foolish statements as a teacher that didn't have children. You know, telling parents how they can help their children at home. Well, that's just fine and dandy but as a parent, real life doesn't always give you those kinds of opportunities at home. To sit down on the schedule that the teacher says you should and to work with your children.

OBS: Yeah, the hour or two of homework is when the parent ought to help the teacher and help the child and you realize as a parent, if you're working particularly, the child who comes home dragging in from school, he's tired--that's not the good time. Then it's time to prepare supper for a couple of hours and you get that taken care of and then the child is is tired. You find a good time to spend an hour or two with one another.

CN: I personally feel maybe I am doing a more human job of teaching, being a mother and I had worked with some preschoolers in a special pre-school program as a substitute for, oh, about a week and a half one time and the aide that was working in that program--I should back up--the teacher of that program was a first year teacher and the program was a brand new program, taking four year olds in their pre-kindergarten year who might have some trouble learning but with this extra help, extra study, they might also be able to function in a natural, normal community. I was in there for about a week and a half and the aide said to me, "You know, I can tell you have children because you react to these kids differently than Debbie does. She does an okay job of teaching, she does all the right things but there's a different feeling. You seem to sense when they need..." So I put an arm around them, when they need comfort and when they need just a stricter turnoff to go back and get busy with their work and she said, "Debbie is still so academic, she hasn't gotten the feel for children yet."

OBS: I think in my own case, before I had children, I was probably not sensitive of the occasional caustic comment or criticism. I attempted to treat 15 or 30 kids a little more anonymously. And when I had my own children, I realized how much one statement that a teacher could say could come home and have the child in tears and a couple of days where you really brought the child from that and the teacher never realizing. I think I was, as I look back, I think it is one of my great regrets, I imagine I was insensitive to that chance comment that could well take a week to recuperate and I would never know it as a teacher.

CN: And I'm not sure I always valued each child as an individual.

OBS: Knowing it's somebody's child--you know it's a cliché--but it's somebody's child.

CN: It's true and it matters. When you know there's a parent at home that really cares what's happening to that child. And I think conferences have been a great boom in this respect. When you know the parent and you know how deeply they feel, you have to care about that child.

OBS: To you as a teacher this is the child who maybe never finished a bit of homework, never got above a C and his one great place was behind in all the achievement tests and to that mother that is her pride and joy. Not the 20 percentile child.

CN: That's why if you could only be a parent first but then I don't know, if you'd draw all those children that you started with and made all those mistakes on. It would have been a lot nicer to have had a parent's perspective when I started teaching but maybe I am a better parent having had teaching experience and seen the mistakes parents have made and said to myself, "I don't want my children to grow up like that," or "I don't treat them like that," or "I'm not going to have that kind of an attitude."

OBS: Being a parent has caused me to--being a teacher has caused me as a parent--I can't expect that teacher to make 25 exceptions for my child. Occasionally you just have to persuade to--yes, that's unfortunate but that's life. You have to learn to deal with that too rather than assuming, as many parents do, that a teacher literally can individualize each child all day, every day. That isn't realism. The other thing I found that was really a shocking experience--after teaching for nine years and studying in graduate school. It so happened that was the very first year my son started. My first year out was his first year in and so I thought, well, here I will be with nine years of experience, the superintendent who is very knowledgeable of what's happening in school and I can read from my son's cues--my teacher strengths and weaknesses--and I found myself so out of it. I was absolutely the typical parent who had no idea what was going on in school who asked the child, "What do you think of your teacher?"

If he likes her, I thought she was great and if he didn't like her I thought she was a bad teacher. I was hopelessly out of it and tried to find out what's happening behind that barrier. My nine years of teaching didn't give me help in peering inside the school. I would look at a paper that would come home and see a check mark--very limited information. I don't know if you had that feeling--that as a parent you're kind of out in left field.

CN: One of the other first grade teachers in our building has a son who has been in many of my classes. And every once in a while something would go wrong for one or the other of my boys and the next day it would--did this happen yesterday? What do you think, what's going on over there, did he bring home anything that would reflect on us and we're both just two moms having coffee trying to figure out what's going on with our kids at school.

OBS: So much for all the years of training and experience. It says, I think, that schools, by and large, are very private kinds of exchanges. It's difficult for parents to help or to be involved or to even know what's happening.

CN: Another gal just married a fellow with two young children, a first grader and a pre-schooler, this past winter from our faculty and the first grader was in my younger son's class and so she said to me, "You know, I've got all these questions and concerns and I'd really like to go ask the teacher. Do you think she would think I was an over anxious parent if that--I don't want to interfere with what they're doing but my husband just doesn't seem to get the right information and I really want to know what's going on." As if she was the only one with a different grade level and she was thrown into this as a new parent, children she inherited, and she was very concerned about coming out as an over anxious parent. And there was a deep concern for these children that she got along with her new husband.

OBS: It's probably unlike any other professional role in that way. Parenting and teaching in many ways are so...

CN: And yet hesitant to come on with your own children's teacher by saying, "Here I am, I'm a teacher", you know.

OBS: Exactly, if anything you're apt to be more forgiving and more likely to stand back than to push yourself.

CN: You play a lot of different roles and I think I'm very conscious of playing the roles too, when I'm on a conference as a parent versus a conference as a teacher.

OBS: Not knowing exactly how far to push and how far not to push. So that was a kind of interesting digression--it was for me. We were talking about the aspects of your background may have contributed to that. You don't have any clear image of anything that said, "Wow! When I teach, I'm going to be like this or like that." Were there any models back then that stand out for you as people, even to this day perhaps, think about consciously? There was a teacher that was--we'll break for a phone call--we've just been talking. Maybe we'll get off that topic with this response. We're still looking for some specific model if there were any. As you thought of classroom teachers in your own experience.

CN: Probably two of them, maybe. One being a fulltime teacher and I was always in a self contained classroom but the fifth grade teacher I had really made everything we did fun. She took a real interest, I think, in the individuals and the projects we had to do were structured but they were individual. You could chose what you were going to study about, your topic and you could do your book whether you studied on something that appealed to you. And she strongly encourage--oh, creativity or ingenuity or whatever ideas you wanted to develop were just fine with her. And she would, if you had a question you really didn't understand, she'd take the time to explain it, to talk to us and she just--it was fun being in her class. It was kind of like--of the two fifth grades, you knew which one you wanted to be in because the most happy times came from there. It was a good feeling, it was a real good rapport with the children and I even went back and visited her. She's still teaching in Hoganstown and I think, in later years she had gotten into a team situation, was having interns from New York but still just the very same warm, caring person that she had been then.

OBS: So you wound up actually having a lot in common with her as you look back?

CN: Yeah, I hope so.

OBS: Interest in teaching and...

CN: And she's probably the first teacher I ever knew that just exchanged because she taught something to the sixth grade that the sixth grade teacher didn't want to teach, didn't feel good about teaching and so the sixth grade teacher came and taught us math, I think. And she was very strict, structured but a very good teacher and we liked her. I think it was always good to get our favorite back and likewise going into sixth grade it was fun to be in that room where they kept trading because you knew that the favorite fifth grade teacher would be arriving for her subject for the day. She was just a special person. But other than that I had a lot of really good teachers that I liked. I liked school, I was a good student, learning came fairly easy to me and I guess I didn't cause them any trouble so I was--I got along fine with the teachers.

> OBS: Teachers seem to be drawn to two rather extreme camps. I think most people are attracted to teaching because schooling was a positive experience, why else would you inflict yourself with more of the same. But there are some whose own experience was so bad, so tight, so structured and so narrow that they are going to go into teaching to offset that critical experience. You find them from both extremes.

With several of our teachers, the resolution of career and family came up in the context of their innovative and reform oriented belief systems. The particulars of Claire Nelson's perspectives are vivid:

> OBS: The--often ask this question and I like to and it gets a range of answers--anywhere from, "Yeah, I'd jump at the chance", or "No, I did that and that part of my life is over." The question being, would you, today, assuming that you didn't have the family restraints or whatever, would you right now, today, at your current age and your current experience level, take another shot at a building of a dream, building another school, building a radical, innovative elementary experience?
>
> CN: Yes, I would. I'm not sure I, like you say, I wouldn't have the hours to get hold on it, simply because I have an obligation to family and I guess the question of how some of those people put in the time they did or how much their families may have not seen them as a result. But I'd go through it again.
>
> OBS: And again, why? What would be some attractions this time? Would it be the same?
>
> CN: Yeah, there was a rapport, a strength of faculty, a kind of oneness. We were all pulling for the same thing. We had a goal, nebulous though it may have been. We were all there to kind of learn and struggle and develop this thing together and I think when you work with a group of people that are committed to something, it's fun, it's exciting, and there was a certain--it was good feeling. Through our frustrations and our tears there was a strength that I would--I'd be very happy to go through again.
>
> OBS: A kind of commitment or belief in what one's doing--it is often thought that the teachers burn out is less a problem of respect or lack of respect, a hard word, underpay. All of those are discouraging factors. But I think--is that so many teachers do not really feel a sense of genuine accomplishment, that they control what they're doing, that they're making a significant difference in what they're doing. It seems to me that is part of the Kensington attraction. You were running your--controling your fate.

CN: We were a cohesive unit. It wasn't--we didn't come there as strictly a work situation and then go many different directions at night and I think the people that I see around here in the schools, the ones that do socialize together, that have a life other than the job are happier working together and have a more easy back and forth sharing because they can share at any hour of the day. I don't mean that everybody has to go to parties together all the time but you need to be friends as well as colleagues to carry out some of the extremeness that we were trying to develop at Kensington

OBS: Where might you be five or ten years from now? Do you give any thought to personally or professionally what another ten years may bring? Sometimes looking backward is challenging, looking forward is challenging. Any thoughts you'd be willing to share about what you might do or might be doing?

CN: I'm happy where I am right now. For my family situation, I feel a need to be with my children. When they come home from school and they're really excited to show me what they have made or done or talk about what they did that day, it's more exciting for them when I'm here than when it is an hour or two later. The sharing is done and I would hate to miss that.

OBS: Again for the record. You have two sons, one going into the fourth grade and the other going into the second grade.

CN: And they're both very sharing yet. They may clam up, I don't know. They're both willing to share. Even when they come dragging in with a long sad face over something, I'm here to talk about it with them. It's not, a neighbor or a baby sitter or come into an empty house and turn on cartoons. And I personally feel like that's important for me to share as a teacher and as a mother, I want to watch them grow up and I want to be part of it.

OBS: Not only for your husband but you don't want to be deprived of that experience yourself.

CN: Right, I want to be the one that cheers what happened today. I don't want the neighbor to hear it or ignore it because it's not their child. So from that standpoint, I'm not ready for fulltime teaching. I want to be here when the kids get home from school.

OBS: So, right now with the teaching, which is half time--family, children, you've got a very nice accomodation.

CN: And I'm free to help in their school, afternoons. If it's a party day or a field trip or a special project, I can go in and be a parent and I know how difficult it is to get

> volunteers to come in who will help, who have the time to help because so many people do have part time jobs, it's an all or nothing situation. And I really feel very fortunate to be able to be doing what I'm trained to do, what I like doing and still doing it on a part time basis. So, I've got the best of both worlds.
>
> OBS: It would seem to be--any thoughts, again, ten years from now, what would that be? That would put your oldest through sophomore year in college. It would put both of them out of high school.
>
> CN: I may be forced to work full time to pay the college bill. I hope it's not for that reason. I feel like I'm teaching because I like it more than because I'm being well paid for it.
>
> OBS: Would you expect shifting and that question of full time as the children get to junior high or senior high school? Or do you want to stay accessible all the way?
>
> CN: I guess I've heard parents reflect that they feel even more needed as their children get older. Maybe it's that they need to take them places but they also feel that that's when they need to be there to talk over the problems of the day as much as sharing what went on in the primary grades. So I'm not sure that I'm--I guess I'm going to wait and see and kind of live through that and as long as Federal funding keeps coming for our Title I project, I'm fairly satisfied with being able to do this one to one tutoring. We have some very strict guidelines and we're very highly structured and sometimes the paperwork gets in the way of the teaching and that's a bit frustrating but I guess we try to put that to the background as much as possible.

The nature of the good life for young women, has turned out to be one of our quests. Such a quest was constrained by a few conditions, the sample by being a part of an innovative reform oriented group of teachers at the Kensington Elementary School in the mid 1960's, the data by retrospective interviews. Toward the close of her comments, after a probe which picked up on her view of the Kensington experience, Claire commented:

> CN: Uh...just remembered good times. It's kind of fun to reminisce and your call immediately brought to mind people

that I had worked with, the excitement of the first job and the excitement of the new, the unknown. That whole realm of starting out. That was immediately a very good feeling and the flash back of all the people who had been there and the things that have taken place and it also reminded me of the friendships which have continued through all these years. But even though we're separated by thousands of miles, I still can feel a telepathy of sorts with these people and I can still evaluate some of what I'm doing in terms of where they're at now and conversations and correspondence that I've kept up--that we can still share what we're doing educationally. So that was the real excitement of passing back into a very happy time of my past. Downs were maybe some of them. The waiting, the wondering, and at some points wondering where I'm at now. If I'm really--what I'm doing is not real intellectually stimulating and I have not been in the academic environment a whole lot--really since I finished my Masters which is now what, ten years, and I miss that. But I'm putting into practice--maybe it's a theory into practice--I had a theory, now I'm trying to use it. I'm trying to use it in my own children and in the tutoring.

So one of the downs were one of my disappointments that not having a full professional career but taking time out for a family career in a different sort of vein. But I think education and family mesh very nicely.

OBS: It's a natural kind of trade off--but apt to occur. You want the blessings and the fun of the parenting, there are some prices on the professional side--they're kind of trade offs.

CN: And I made it willingly. I guess I could have fought to stay in teaching but I'm not sure I had the energy at that point to care. I wanted to take care of my children and I wanted to hopefully raise them in a way to avoid mistakes I was trying to remediate as a teacher, where the parent had not been in the home as much as maybe they would like to have been because of circumstances. I felt fortunate that I was not forced to work at that point, that I could choose to work on a temporary schedule and I could also choose to be home with my children. At least there would be one parent always in residence.

## 3.5 Processes of Career Development of Educational Innovators

One of our older and wiser colleagues once commented in telling about people, positions and careers that "everyone is where she/he is for a reason." He was not being a "hard line determinist" nor did he believe that human affairs were solely a function of "natural law." But he always felt that a careful social scientific analysis would clarify the patterned nature of careers. Each of our innovative staff has a story to tell. On the one hand we have wanted to stay close to the individuals and their accounts, on the other hand we have wanted to keep reaching for patterns and more general ideas. Ultimately, we want a point of view, a point of view exploring the nature of careers for innovative, reform oriented educators.

### 3.51 The Purpose of Careers

As we look at the issues of careers in a life history we believe that most analysts implicitly or explicitly make evaluative statements, almost in the very process of description and analysis. As we read our protocols we worked toward an ideal type synthesis of the ends of educational careers. The global abstract set of ideas reminds us in part of our earlier involvement in concepts of mental health and counseling outcomes (Jahoda, 1958 and Maslow, 1954).

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Insert Figure 22 about here

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1. Sufficient for economic survival
2. Day to day satisfactions
3. Congruent with spouses attitude, expectations
4. Congruent with basic needs, desires, and abilities
5. Long term reaching of potential, development of identity
6. Contribution to an idiosyncratic life style

Figure 22: Hierarchy of Values in a Career

### 3.52 The Multiplicity of Educational Careers

Perhaps more than anything else, of a practical sort, we have been impressed by the eye opening quality this group of educators has given us of the multiplicity of educational, and educationally related, careers. The simplicity of vertical mobility and Becker's extension to horizontal mobility, better working conditions, has given way to an important pluralism of possibilities for able, energetic, creative men and women. Figure 23 contains these.

Insert Figure 23 about here

In order of magnitude of surprise we were struck with 1) the possibilities for a reanalysis of the stereotypic teaching as a woman's occupation--the 8:30-3:30 school marm of a self-contained classroom, 2) the varied positions in education and related organizations in both the public and private sections, and 3) the university schools and colleges of education. Tacitly, from our experience at Washington University, Wisconsin and Oklahoma, we had known this. Now it is a more articulate, bold relief set of ideas.

After reading Kanter's Men and Women of the Corporation with its analyses and definitions of hierarchy, opportunity and success within the corporation, we find the occupation of teaching containing startling differences. Partly, this involved jumping the boundaries of the single school, which introduces an unfairness to Kanter who tended to bound her account to Indsco, a single corporation. We would note these items:

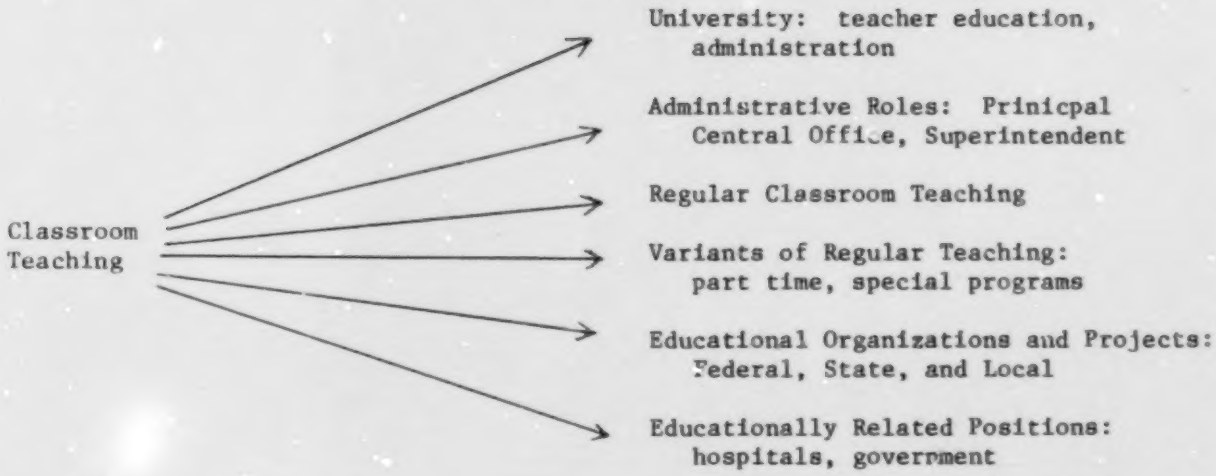
Classroom Teaching
University: teacher education, administration
Administrative Roles: Prinicpal Central Office, Superintendent
Regular Classroom Teaching
Variants of Regular Teaching: part time, special programs
Educational Organizations and Projects: Federal, State, and Local
Educationally Related Positions: hospitals, government

Figure 23: Multiplicity of Career Options in "Teaching"

1) Large amounts of autonomy in day to day teaching in many schools

2) Strong tendencies by our innovative staff to define the world in their own terms and/or to move and find settings where this could be done

3) Definition of opportunity and success in terms of multiple hierarchies--not only principalships and central office administrative but also in college and university settings

4) Variety of educationally related careers, e.g. management training, hospital center, which opened further the non hierarchical definitions of success

5) Particularly for the women, opportunities to blend and integrate careers and families in idiosyncratic and mostly satisfying ways.

### 3.53 The Contrast with Carlson

One of the tactics in seeing further implications in our data interpretations, and analyses involves comparisons and contrasts of what we have found and constructed, by way of patterns with other recent empirical and theoretical accounts.[10] Carlson's Orderly Career Opportunities (1979) permits us to highlight some of our findings. For brevity we will just focus on the differences and contrasts.

As we read his monograph, the metatheoretical stance or paradigm he seems to be operating from is a naturalistic, deductive, positivistic perspective. He is isolating crossnationally (U.S.A. and Australia) a set of context free concepts and propositions regarding careers and organizations. This contrasts with our more interpretive contextualist stance. His data are more quantitative and based on formal government documents. Our data are more qualitative, interview, and case study records.

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[10] In our methodological discussion, we spoke of this as the "classic piece gambit" (Smith and Kleine, 1983).

In his account of career success in orderly career opportunities Carlson (1979, p. 74-75) raises three main lines of competing clusters of variables: hard work, luck, and characteristics of formal organizations. At one level we would not disagree from our Kensington experience. However there seems to be a class of variables that we would call "politics", both informally and formally. The informal networks, training institutions, sponsorship, played a role throughout our innovative group. The ideological preferences and high conflict, of Boards, superintendents, and principals runs through our interviews, data, and reports, not only in this Volume but especially our historical and contemporaneous descriptions and analyses in Volume I, II, and IV. School systems are political systems as well as bureaucratic organizations. And that is a very large and too frequently ignored piece of the truth.

As we read his taxonony of positions in public, pre collegiate education in New South Wales we note several generalizations. Staying with the state schools, while obviously legitimate in one sense, does an injustice to the larger system of education in Australia where a large minority of students are educated in parochial and independent schools, at least in Victoria (Bates, et al, 1982; Smith, 1982, ). This contextualist point arises in our Kensington data as well. The five types of administrative positions he mentions for Oregon omit the federal, regional, state department foundation positions our innovative educators were in and out of in their less-than-orderly careers. Further, the lack of inclusion of university positions and related but out of "Education" positions misses another important aspect of the career phenomenon of our group. Perhaps here we are rearguing the special nature of our group--innovative, reform oriented educators; they are a small propotion of the totality; they live different kinds of lives.

Finally, although we are not critical theorists in the general sense of that term (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972 and Bernstein, 1978). We do believe that social structures are artifactual and mutable (see Volume I of Kensington Revisited on the history of the Milford District, Smith, et al, 1983). One of the most intriguing aspect of the careers of the women in our group is the variety of construals of career which has led us to join Friedan (1981) in rethinking "teaching as a woman's career." Rather than taking the structure of positions as a given as Carlson has done we have tried our hand at asking what do the lives of our teachers have to say about reconstructing rules, regulations, contracts, and psychological sets/beliefs to enhance the flow of talented people into schools in creative ways in the service of values such as intellectual excellence and equality.

# 4. FROM CAREERS TO BELIEF SYSTEMS: A DESCRIPTIVE VIEW[11]

## 4.1 The Context

One of the fascinating aspects of open ended interviewing, wherein individuals talk about their lives is that the material often leaves the interviewer fascinated, almost breathless, but also often puzzled as to what it means, and even more immediately significant, where does it fit in? And, what has all this got to do with what we thought was "our research problem"? So it was with several of our early interviews, in this instance Alec and Margie Thurman. The way they had lived, and were now living their lives seemed highly significant and yet we were not quite sure why, for the focus seemed apart from "educational innovators: then and now", ostensibly our problem and topic.

As we found some of the fundamental pattern of careers occurring with our split on gender and then the splits on position and age we began to look, as we have indicated, to the feminist, women's literature for ways of phrasing our results and add meaning to what we were seeing in the lives, especially of the women teachers. Betty Friedan's recent book, The Second Stage, her til then unspoken hunches phrased our problem. Our innovators had run into, been a part of the changing world of the 60s and 70s. Their stories provide images that clarify her agenda:

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[11] This section began as a small second example to the prior section (3.4) on marriage, careers, and Betty Friedan's second stage. The interview contained two individuals, "who talked in quotes" and who spoke to so many issues germane to our perspective that we retained its chronological aspects. Interpretively, after setting a context, we stayed mostly with our reactions caught at the time in the discussions.

> This is the jumping-off point to the second stage, I believe: these conflicts and fears and compelling needs women feel about the choice to have children now and about success in the careers they now seek--and the concrete practical problems involved (which have longer political implications).
> (1981, p. 39)

"...the concrete practical problems involved..." is the phrase that resounds in our data. That's the agenda, that's what we saw and felt as so important, here, at least initially.

In addition, our life histories resonated with the hunches relevant to Friedan's agenda:

> 1) *The second stage cannot be seen in terms of women alone, our separate personhood or equality with men.*
>
> 2) *The second stage involves coming to new terms with the family--new terms with love and with work.*
>
> 3) *The second stage may not even be a women's movement. Men may be at the cutting edge of the second stage.*
>
> 4) *The second stage has to transcend the battle for equal power in institutions. The second stage will restructure institutions and transform the nature of power itself.*
>
> 5) *The second stage may even now be evolving, out of or even aside from what we have thought of as our battle.*
> (1981, p. 28)

Some of our teachers seemed in the second stage before it was recognized as such. Their stories as they brush against this aspect of American culture provides further context for understanding the careers of educational innovators.

For us, the logic of the argument is presented in the hierarchial conception illustrated by Figure 24. A particular career and set of career choices are just one of many possibilities available to most individuals. Careers and career choices are embedded in a larger construction which we have called simply, a life style. Life styles have no clear, magical, or absolute quality of goodness. They are hard won conceptions of individual identities, working things out against the hard realities of the particulars of time, place, and circumstance. The individual variations seem infinite. Philosophers such as Morris (1956) have abstracted more limited patterns and configurations--13 ways and 3 paths, and given them classical and religious names: Apollonian, Buddist, etc. The life styles find their justification in what we call belief systems, a complex of affirmations and negations that intertwine into weblike nets of ideas, reason's preferences, and values.

The ultimate intellectual justification, in our view, comes from what the ethical philosopher, R. N. Hare (1952), has called a decision of principle. The heart of his argument is presented in a short paragraph:

> Thus, if pressed to justify a decision completely, we have to give a complete specification of the way of life of which it is a part. This complete specification it is impossible in practice to give; the nearest attempts are those given by the great religions, especially those which can point to historical persons who carried out the way of life in practice. Suppose, however, that we can give it. If the inquirer still goes on asking "But why *should* I live like that?" then there is no further answer to give him, because we have already, *ex hypothesi*, said everything that could be included in this further answer. We can only ask him to make up his own mind which way he ought to live; for in the end everything rests upon such a decision of principle. He has to decide whether to accept that way of life or not; if he accepts it, then we can proceed to justify the decisions that are based upon it; if he does not accept it, then let him accept some other, and try to live by it. The sting is in the last clause. (p. 69)

Insert Figure 24 about here

Our extended interview with Alec and Margie Thurman illuminates this descriptive and conceptual perspective. But we need to go back to the beginning of our visit with them. When we arrived at the restaurant, for our initial meeting and interview with Alec, the most striking event was our inability to recognize him. Our recollections were of a young man in his early 20's, well scrubbed, crew cut, serious--Jack Armstrong's younger brother. What we found was a long haired, bearded, broad brimmed hatted, leather jacketed, jeaned, and booted man of 40ish years. Kind of laid back. Not at all college professorial, and perhaps especially not the stereotyped educational psychologist.

But Alec's story is more than his alone. It's also a story of his wife Margie, who joined us later, after work. While most of that will unfold shortly, we might note a comment or two about their home, which we went to after our luncheon meeting. They had bought it several years ago when they came to Northern State Teachers College. Several aspects stand out. First, it's in the wrong part of town, "Professors in the College don't live here", according to the real estate woman with whom they worked in finding it. Second, it's small. It seems like one of those little 1930's houses, depression conceived, even though it actually was built post World War II. Third, they heat it, in the cold of the upper midwest, with a fireplace and a wood stove. The logs come from a small piece of property they own just outside of town. Alec cuts and splits firewood for exercise, and, along with the walk back and

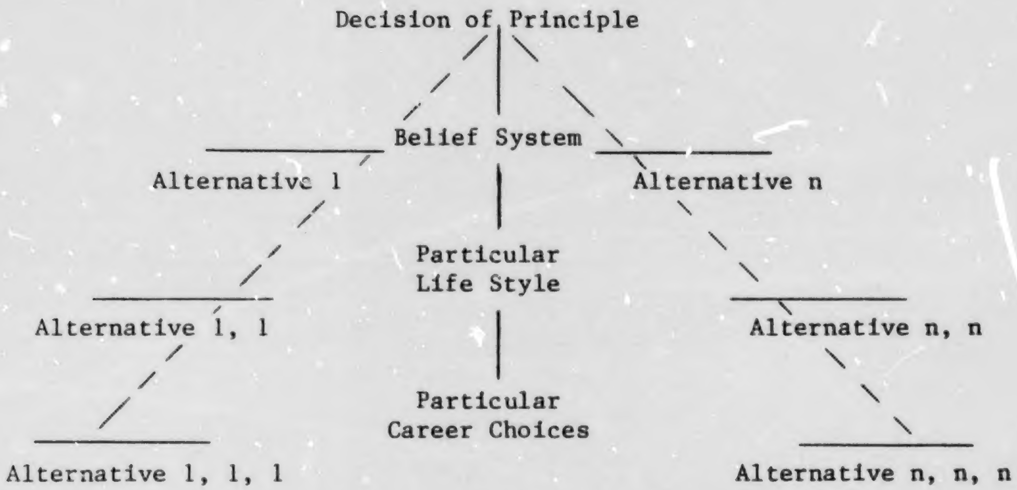
Decision of Principle
Belief System
Alternative 1
Alternative n
Particular Life Style
Alternative 1, 1
Alternative n, n
Particular Career Choices
Alternative 1, 1, 1
Alternative n, n, n

Figure 24: Hierarchy of Career Choices, Life Styles, Belief Systems, and Decisions of Principle

forth, as a time for reflection. They have a garden behind the house. Breakfast with them on the second day included homemade rolls and homemade jam. We ate at the kitchen table.

On the surface, they seemed a long way, 15 years and 500 miles, from Milford and the subdivision house they had rented down the street from the Kensington School so their son could be a part of the school, as a first grader.

### 4.2 The Long First Phase of the Interview

In the interview with Alec, the career issues began immediately when we turned on the tape recorder. We have inserted the brief paragraph introduction which sets the tenor of the conversation. The important analytic point we labeled "testing options":

> LMS: We've been visiting just generally the last hour or so through lunch and at this point kind of turning the tape recorder on and I guess from my point of view, I'm not really interested in shifting the conversation very much because it's the kind of thing that we've been talking about that I'd hoped we could begin to get involved in and talk about. The kind of strategy we've used is very open ended and pretty much in the vein of what might be called oral history and we've been trying to have the people talk a little bit about what they've done since they were at Kensington in 1964-65 or whenever the year was that they left and that might be the easiest way. And then if we could maybe flip back and pick up on some of the kinds of things that you're saying about your background, the fact that you'd been involved in religious work and that kind of thing. So if we could talk a little bit that way and then we'll feed in and kind of raise questions a bit along the way and mostly I guess we're trying to not lay our template on to you about either the school or about the way life is but kind of get your template and then try to elaborate that in some detail as we go, if that makes a kind of sense?
>
> Alec Thurman: I think so, that sounds like that should be alright.

LMS: We'll have a try then...

AT: Yeah, we--well--we--I was--we were at Kensington the one year and left there and went north and I taught fifth grade in a Country Day School. That was a big shift from any experience I've had. It was one that I've referred back to rather frequently as one of the few schools I've ever taught in and worked in that there was a clear statement of, you know, the goals and the purpose of the school. It was focused on getting kids into prep schools and it was academic, it was a pressure cooker kind of thing but it was also one of the few teaching experiences I think I've been in that I really felt as if people regarded me as a responsible professional. The parents would look on me as somebody who knew what he was doing and would take my advice and it was a good experience but--

LMS: Let me hold you there for a minute if I could--okay, we're back--

AT: Okay, then I think that the difficulty with it was that we really didn't feel very comfortable in that community.

LMS: You and Margie?

AT: Both Margie and I. It was very tempting, for one thing the school, during the year we were there we paid fifty dollars a month rent for a four bedroom house, three and a half baths, and two fireplaces and an acre and a half of land and could attend--could have reduced memberships in country clubs, the kids could go to Country Day free, their friends were social people, all that kind of thing. If we had decided to say there after--like going into the third year, the school would have purchased the house and we would have been paid--made payments to them for ten years without interest and at that time we would have been given mortgage allowances. They were looking for teachers and were supplementing salaries that way. It was also my first contact with, you know, real upper class people, something I have never--these were people who had never entered the public school systems...It was just a whole other world. But then after that then that next summer we had heard a rumor that Eugene Shelby was down in Southwest State and so we called him and I went down there then for a summer of working on curriculum projects.

LMS: And that was after a year or two years at Country Day?

AT: After one year, yeah--and Margie and I went to Southwest State for the summer. We rented our house out. And then near the end of the summer they offered me a job down there and so we rushed back and had a house sale or a garage sale, packed our things up and moved to Southwest State.

> PK: You mentioned that that was such a new venture and in many ways very seductive to say--what prompted you to take the one year and then head there?
>
> AT: Initially the position was just something for the summer. We hadn't been in Southwest State and a summer thing sounded interesting. Then at the end of that then it was a Title III project that was in there and it was a good offer for the next year and it sounded exciting and so...

When we ask ourselves what this mean, what we make of the comments, our initial point is Alec's "testing of career options." A second point, which recurrs in his story, is the intertwining of his interest with those of his wife and later a complicated career interdependency. A third point is that options existed. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act had passed Congress shortly before. Title III drew him in ways he found exciting and productive. Fourth, the importance of "old boy networks" beyond Eugene Shelby, Kensington's first principal, appeared in comments immediately afterward:

> LMS: With the Southwest City Public Schools?
>
> AT: No, it was--well, I guess they sponsored it but it was called the Hispanic Educational Center and it was started by Steven Spanman's brother--and it was connected with a State Fair that was down there at that time--
>
> LMS: Well, was that with PS 2000, the School of the Future, that Eugene was involved in too?
>
> AT: Yeah, that was the--yeah.
>
> LMS: He was in the same situation that you were?
>
> AT: Yeah, yeah, I think that at the time I went down there they were only--I think I was like the fifth or so person at that place that was hired.

Risk taking seems a fifth generalization:

> PK: Could you describe what that is because I can recall at that time, I was vague as to what it was--still vague huh?
>
> AT: Yeah, it never was...
>
> LMS: What was it you thought you were getting into in a sense?
>
> AT: I thought, yeah, I thought that I was--the original proposal part of the plan was to design a school of the future that would operate during this State Fair in which kids would be learning from computers in wonderful places and all that and then the school would continue to operate afterwards and it would be multi-cultural and that's as far--I don't--that's all I really remember, it was--that was the blurb---

Although that kind of vagueness permeated the ideas, Alec indicated a strong continuity with Kensington:

> PK: Can you recall at that time what the excitement was to some extent? Was it a continuation of the Kensington...?
>
> AT: Yeah, I felt very much, a continuation of that, yeah, and see, I worked with people in Southwest City then who were people very much like a lot of the people at Kensington. They were really excited about new things in education, there was a Chicano who was forty, who was a science educator, who was just totally into process science and all this sort of thing. There was a guy who had been at Midwest State University when I was there. He was in dramatics but very much involved in getting on with kids and the whole process thing. That whole spirit was very similar--the group of us thought that we might, you know, I know it was a continuation.

In a sense, we are reminded of W. I. Thomas' "four wishes" (Waller, 1932). Alec's need for "new experience" seemed very important.

The spouse and family story trickled out as Alec talked about a career move from Southwestern City to Capital City:

> LMS: Well, come back to--you said you spent a year and a half there and then went on to Capital City.
>
> AT: Yeah, then we went up there and now see--as part of this you have to--when we were in Metropolitan City was when my

> wife started going to college. She attended a junior college and then she went--she took a course when we were at Country Day, or a couple of courses, at a small college there and then when we went to Southwest State she enrolled pretty much full time but Southwest City had no public four year colleges so they had a good community college system and at about this time she had reached the limit there and I had this connection at the computer assisted instruction lab, that is by working with them, I knew the people and so I got a job there and we moved to Capital City and I was working there--part of the impetus of that was that Margie could go to school and complete a college degree so going to Capital City was really a good move. We liked Southwest City a lot, we went back there a lot and we still like it, we both got very interested in the Chicano culture. As I said, one of the people I worked with was Chicano and we spent a lot of time with their family and really got to know members of the family and really got to like that culture a lot and consequently my wife then majored in anthropology and Spanish at the University and worked in some bilingual education programs down there and has maintained Spanish interests. It's been really exciting because we went to Mexico a few times.

His way of talking about his own career leaves an impression of youthful innocence rather than more pressured careerism:

> AT: And then I worked at the Computer Assisted Instruction Lab as a program writer for about two years, full time. Part of the provision was as an employee of the University I could take courses, I could take one course each term.
>
> PK: Did you have any idea of a Ph. D. program as you moved to Capital City?
>
> AT: No, not at all. I had taken two graduate courses there, one in computer assisted instruction and now one in observing--I forget the title but the focus was observation instruments for classrooms, and so on. Then I continued--I initially just sort of took some classes that I was interested in, graduate classes, and then I did start a program in curriculum and instruction but because I--for various reasons the people I met and so on were in psych and then so I shifted into that and then there was some funding trouble with CAI Lab and so I applied for a fellowship and I got for the next two--about two years--then I had--I forget the dollar amount but a pretty good fellowship so I didn't work for those two years and that allowed me to complete the doctorate and Margie completed her degree and then worked for part of the--about a year before we left, in Capital City.

> LMS: So you got your degree in what year?
>
> AT: 1972--now see, I came up here in the fall of 1972 and the degree was awarded in December of 1972.

The dissertation followed. It seemed an exercise that taught him mostly that research was not what he wanted to do:

> LMS: What did you do your paper on?
>
> AT: My dissertation was on relative salience of physical features for young kids and I looked--I was trying to get at--I started--really, my interest was in racial awareness and so on--I was trying to get at what kinds of physical features seemed to be most important to young kids because a lot of the research that has looked at that has assumed that skin color is highly noticeable from birth on or something and I'm really pretty well convinced that yeah, young kids can discriminate pretty good differences in skin color but they sure as hell haven't learned it's so important yet and that's what I was trying to look at so the dissertation I tested kids of four, five, six, and seven years old, had them look at pictures that some of--they would vary according to skin color, hair color, expression and sex and it was the kind of thing where there were three pictures, one--it's been a long time now, to describe all that--it's an area that you know, the specific details in research I don't think...Essentially the results I found was that four year old kids hair color was much more significant to them than skin color and so was sex, whether it was a boy or a girl, and the same thing for five year olds. Six year olds' hair color was still most important but sex was almost as important but skin color was somewhat more important and there was also--it seemed that skin color was becoming more important to seven year olds but still not the most important of the four things. So, and I haven't followed up anything on that.
>
> PK: As you were pursuing the Ph. D. did you have a kind of a career goal or was it clear that you were going to go into a university setting or perhaps a public school setting, as you were working on the doctorate, what kinds of career goals did you have?
>
> AT: I didn't think about that until the last year and then--but about that time--now the program was very heavily emphasis --very research oriented program and it's a good program and I like it, I had a good time with it but I think the experience convinced me that I was--I didn't want that kind of position and I was interested in teaching so I looked primarily in

> teaching kinds of colleges and also at that time we wanted to move back to this part of the country so--but it really wasn't--through most of the doctoral program I wasn't thinking of a career. That whole business of job shortages, I never dealt with that at all until I was really completing the doctorate. All the rest of the way through with career was a matter of which things do you think you'll do now.

At this point in the interview, Alec back tracked into his early background in a rural, northern, midwestern community:

> AT: First of all, see, I went all the while through high school I was going to be a farmer. That was definite and...
>
> LMS: You'd told us earlier that you'd grown up on a farm.
>
> AT: Oh yeah, I grew up on a farm and I liked it and when I was a junior in senior high school and my dad bought some more land and I was--I had some cattle and had purchased some machinery and was pretty much moving into a partnership and then for one year after high school I farmed and--but then at the end of that year I decided I would become a minister and it was a kind of thing, it was at a summer camp--big experience that I'm called and all that sort of thing.
>
> LMS: What were you, eighteen, nineteen at the time?
>
> AT: I would have been about seventeen, I graduated from high school at sixteen. I was about seventeen and that meant I had to go to college. Now all the way through high school people kept telling me I should go to college and I tell you, the only people I knew in my life who went to college were teachers and preachers and I sure as hell wasn't going to be a teacher--I didn't want anything to do with that and I think --and my wife and I were dating at that time and I really think looking back on it that that was about the only way I could see of getting out, leaving my home community and doing it in any way gracefully, legitimately, that kind of thing, I think, I don't know.
>
> LMS: Did you phrase it to yourself as "getting out"?
>
> AT: No, I didn't at that time, not at all. No, no, I didn't but this was something--I always remember my mother saying that she sure hoped one of her sons would be a minister, that kind of thing and all of my family all around were very active in church work and the church was the whole center of our life, you know, it was the church in the country, probably eighty percent of the people were my relatives. My grandfather and his brother had married sisters, both from fairly large

families and between them all I was related to everybody, you know, and that was where we went for most of our social life, that was--everything happened there, so you know, the whole thing of going into the ministry was not unexpected, well accepted, and all that kind of thing.

LMS: You'd been a good student in elementary and high school?

AT: Yeah, yeah.

LMS: And identified as somebody who ought to go to college kind of thing?

AT: Yeah, that was--yeah, high school teachers would tell me that and that was ironic because the high school I went to wasn't anything academically, really it was--I told you that I went there for family reasons and...

LMS: Oh, that's right, that was the one, the...

AT: The County School of Agriculture and Domestic Economy.

Once again Alec's account of his life history keeps returning to issues of careers, gender, and second stages. The County Ag School was coed:

> AT: Domestic economy is home ec so it was boys and girls and all the boys had to take ag for four years and the girls took home ec for four years and there were twenty-eight in my class, graduating class, and there were a few of us there who were there for family reasons. Two or three generations had gone there and then there were quite a number of kids who were farm kids and it wasn't for family reasons, I don't know why they went to Agie. And then there was another group who had gotten kicked out of other high school and it was a county high school so it drew kids from much wider radius than the local public high school. And, as I said, academically it was just not much of anything. So yeah, I did very well, my wife went to the other high school which was a good academic high school, graduating class of 120 or something like that. My teachers were always telling me to go to college but nobody every said that to her, you know, and she was fourteenth in her class. It's one of those, you know, interesting things, you look back, and see how the whole double standard was so pervasive. So then the first two years of college I went to the Ag College.
>
> LMS: And that's where?

AT: That's in my home town. So I lived on the farm and commuted daily.

LMS: What year would that have been that you were there?

AT: I started there in--I graduated from high school in 1955, spring of 1955, and then I stayed home a year so I would have started in 1957 and I went there for two years and I got married after the first year and my wife then worked and then we had kids right away, like two kids and then after two years then we moved to a neighboring state because part of becoming a minister was going to the church college, and at least I did go to the state college for two years. But then we went off and it cost a fair amount--it didn't by today's standards--it didn't cost anything but by our standards it cost a lot to go to a private college and we lived in College Town.

LMS: And the school?

AT: Central College--it's still there--one of those small, private, liberal arts colleges. At that time, the seminary was right across the street from it, in the same town.

The tape ended. While we changed that, the fire in the fireplace was smoldering because of the green wood that Alec had cut recently. And that provoked another strand of comments which extends Alec's life history:

LMS: Talking about the green oak that was delivered a little bit ago and the probabilities or the improbabilities that that green oak is going to burn with some wet kindling wood. Let me divert there for just a minute--are things like wood cutting a big avocation where you spend a weekend or...?

AT: Yeah, well, what I do is I work probably an hour a day three or four days out of almost every week and what I started doing now in the spring when it gets to where the sun comes up early enough, I'll go out early in the morning so I probably leave here at five or five-thirty and I'll go out and cut wood for an hour and then come back and clean up and go to work and pretty much do that through the summer. I found that that's the way I get my wood cut. For two reasons, one is that in the fall, I'm usually busy enough that devoting full days to it is very hard to do and the other thing is that physically I really am not capable of going out and cutting wood full steam for a whole day.

LMS: Any more?

> AT: Yeah, right, I feel much healthier doing it on a regular basis and it kind of relates generally to—in general I try to work that into my daily life exercise so that, as I also told you, I walk to work, I bicycle in the summer, I generally tend to do some shopping and running errands on the way to and from work so I walk an extra mile or two, bicycle extra here and there rather than exercising.

The interview didn't quite meander, although it was more like old friends having a conversation as the two researchers raised questions which played off of current impressions and recollections from fifteen years before:

> LMS: You don't jog or you don't play racket ball or you don't --a little cross country skiing?
>
> AT: No, no, yeay, cross crountry skiing, yeah, we do that, I like that and I would like to be at a place where I could sort of step out of my door and ski, we can't do that, but I like to cross crountry ski but I find--yeah, I need to build in exercise as part of my routine. I don't enjoy things like racket ball, if I have time for relaxing I would much rather read or listen to music or that kind of thing and it's just something, I really feel good building in exercise and cutting wood is good exercise so that...
>
> LMS: But you don't do carpentry work or much of that kind of thing?
>
> AT: Not too much, no, not very much, minimal kinds of things around the house.
>
> LMS: I'm still surprised that you don't blend hunting and fishing and stuff in with that. It would seem that would be congruent with that kind of...
>
> AT: I think--it may be a big--I don't know--my dad never did either one. My grandfather and I went fishing sometimes and I liked that. My grandfather never went hunting, he did have a gun. My dad didn't even have a gun and that's kind of unusual on a farm in the 1940s and '50s.
>
> LMS: Religious reasons or?
>
> AT: No, I don't know, he never talked about it. You know, he certainly wasn't opposed to killing animals 'cause we had all sorts of live stock and we butchered all our own meat and it's just going out to hunt something was something that he never

did. My grandfather only used the gun for like predators, you know. I remember he shot a hawk once, shot a fox, those kinds of things but just no one in my family ever hunted game. One of my cousins raised pheasants but it's never been part of it and...

LMS: How about gardening? Do you garden?

AT: Yeah.

LMS: Here or out in the country or?

AT: Here, we have some fruit trees, dwarf fruit trees, that we planted in the front yard and we have quite a rasberry bed going and then we have two garden plots in the back yard and grow tomatoes and squash and onions and carrots and then we have a small garden plot in the front yard and--we're gone a lot in the summers, but what we tend to do is try to plan our gardening, things that we can garden, we like to garden but we're not here all the time but we grow quite a bit, we just used up our last tomatoes and that kind of thing. We started the gardening, we got into it when were were in Southwest State. When we lived there we got very much involved with a number of things, the anti-war kinds of activities, back to the earth sorts of things, we spent a lot of time with a group who started a school commune kind of thing. We talked with a group about starting a situation like that but the natural foods thing was one of these and we stayed with it. We've become--we--I suppose we probably, on the average, actually eat meat two or three times a week. Margie eats meat more often than I do, but like having ribs today was the largest serving of meat I've had in a long time. It's nothing, it's not religious or anything like that, it's just I've really changed eating habits and all that. Come to really like vegetables a lot more, growing them is part of that, you know.

PK: Could you just stay on the kind of life style for a moment--it seems to me that your life style has changed dramatically. For example, when I first saw you, I was startled. I really...

AT: You mean now?

PK: Yes, when I saw you at noon, I had remembered and I had visions and I was saying to Lou, gee, I'm sure I'll still recognize Alec and yet you were dressed in a much more relaxed, laid back, or whatever, style you would have--have you had a slow steady shift in perspective or life style, was it rather abrupt or am I misreading what seems to be a different Alec Thurman from the Alec that I thought I saw back at Kensington?

AT: Yeah, during the period that we lived in Capital City, in fact, at the time, yeah, I was when I shifted from the CAI job that--as I said, there was a funding difficulty, essentially my--didn't have a job--I went on a fellowship--my wife was completing her last year of college and we then--at that time we were renting a house and we then moved into student housing and student housing at the University were the army barracks...

LMS: Still?

AT: Yeah, they still had them--in fact it was right at that time that they made a decision to no longer regard them as temporary buildings--so they were thirty years old--

PK: Either a national landmark or...?

AT: Yeah, so and you know, we moved into a two bedroom apartment for $37 a month and it was a great experience.

LMS: Was it a barracks with a family on one end and another one on the other end or was it...?

AT: Yeah, it was..,

LMS: A quonset?

AT: No, it was a box, a wooden, rectangular building with four apartments in each building usually.

LMS: Oh, with four in each building?

AT: Yeah, some of the buildings--they varied--there was some one bedroom apartments that were only on the first floor and then their neighbors would have three bedroom apartments and lean over them a little bit but ours was a two bedroom with two rooms downstairs and two rooms upstairs and the walls--they were all fiber wallboard...

LMS: Yeah, we lived in one of these in Minnesota--between the two campuses if you know the University on Como Avenue from--rode the trolley car into the University but that was in 1950-1955.

AT: So that was--we made quite a change there in terms of amount of money that we were expending. We sold a lot of things at that time. In the student housing area that we lived in, a group of families there formed a food cooperative. Now it wasn't--this was not an organic food cooperative, it was an economical kind of thing. We met together every Saturday and one person would take their car and go somewhere and bring back a bunch of milk, and somebody else would bring bread and then we'd have kind of a party of sharing it and all that and then we were involved in another food co-op that was an organic food co-op and we had a lot of friends who were really involved in organic food and as I said, the whole idea of communal living and free school kind of thing just a lot of friends were involved in examining values and all that sort of thing.

LMS: Were you older than the usual couple in that or kids must have been older than a lot of other kids?

AT: Yeah, although that was the interesting thing. There was quite a range but older than most, yeah, we were, yeah, and our kids were older than most, they were upper elementary age.

As we talked of their children, a son who had been a first grader at Kensington and a younger daughter, now a college student at St. Joseph's College where Margie teaches, further reflections on schooling arose:

AT: Yeah, the--schools generally--there was just a very--there were an awful lot of military academies at that time, people tend to think of them as best, consequently, you know, that--whatever people regard as the best is what you're going to see the schools imitating a little bit--and just a heavy, heavy emphasis on, you know, obedience for obedience sake and he just didn't have a good experience in school. He always liked to read and he was always interested in science and so it never bothered us any and when we came here he went to a high school that was a very good experience for him. One of the schools here in town, really has a commitment to seeing kids as, you know, legitimate human beings, it's one of the few that still uses modular scheduling where the kids have about 60% of their time on schedule and that's rare, you know.

PK: It is, our son just finished. Our high school has just thrown it out much to my oposition and they were very embarrassed that they were one of the last to throw it out, the rest of the world has smartened up some...

AT: This high school--what happened, Collegeville was growing and they needed a new high school and so the school was--it was something like Kensington in that only the faculty wanted to teach that way went there. It wasn't a modular scheduling that was pushed on them and my perception is that the principal is the key ingredient in the school and whenever he retires it will revert. He's one of these rare people who, he--his name--his picture's in the paper frequently because he's active on the Chamber of Commerce. He's one of these people--and he slaps people on the back and all that kind of thing but he also likes kids, you know, and really is completely dedicated to providing a humane environment for them and it's a good high school. After bad experiences in the south and just really hating school, our son came up here and by Thanksgiving he was publicly saying, "I kind of like it", you know, and for a high school freshman to say that, that's--and he had a very good experience there but he wasn't interested in going on to school, that wasn't something he wanted to do. He had expressed some interest in going to an electronics institute, broadcasting school, that kind of thing, but it's one of these things that, you know, nine months and $2700. He was working at Burger King and so he knew how--and realistically, when I started looking at the options opened to a high school graduate, I began to see, well, you know, the Army didn't look too bad. He was, as I say, working at Burger King at minimum wage and that's not bad when you're going to high school and living at home but as a living it doesn't work. And he--so he joined the Army, he got training as a radio operator and got sent to Greece immediately after he trained and liked every minute of it there except the time he was spending with the Army.

(laughter)

PK: But he stayed with it?

AT: Oh, yeah.

The interview was tilted back to more immediate career issues:

PK: I was pursuing the change notion--if you would--when you were at Kensington, did you have any thoughts of a career pattern? Could you have predicted that you'd be where you are today, either in terms of the kind of role or the kind of life style? Do you look back upon Kensington era and this era as surprising or predictable or...?

AT: I sure didn't have any--I really--I don't ever remember thinking at that time seriously about a career. The decision to leave Kensington was made fairly late in the year and it was a case of--I don't--there were a number of factors--I didn't leave Kensington seeking a real other career. I wanted--we decided we wanted to leave--

PK: Was the feeling that the party was over?

AT: Yeah, that was--I think that was the clincher--I had--there was just a lot of uncertainty about what was going to be happening. Some conversations I had with Steven Spanman and Jerl Cohen were just--I--and then essentially what I did was I wrote to the placement office at the University and notices started coming in. And, you know, I mean, moving at that time was so easy that I didn't really have to think seriously about it and part of it was, as I said, we came here because we wanted to come to this part of the country, part of it is our families. That's been a continuing thing with us, both my wife and I, our families have always been upset when we move away and...

LMS: Your parents both living, hers both living?

AT: Hers are both living and my mother is still living. In fact, my dad died right after we moved up here. Her mother had broken her hip just before we moved up here and my grandfather died just before that. There was a real feeling on our part that we should be closer. And part of that was when we left Milford. Moving closer to home was a part of the move there. The decision to go to Country Day School was just because--I swear, there was a stack of notices that high of openings and this was the only one that the person listed said Head Master and I thought, that's interesting and we went up there, I had a cousin living there and we went to see them and I went for the interview and they offered me the job. And--now--yeah, I think I certainly had very different--I felt differently about a lot of things in Milford. I was very much at that time--pretty much still buying into the thing of climbing, and getting up there, making it kind of thing, and it was a real struggle, constantly. And that was very much--that was the thing--you know, upper class suburbia was really tempting when we were there, as I said, and that was very consistent with--for some reason--

LMS: Would have been a clincher on that?

AT: Yeah, it would have been. Yeah, well, that would have really--I don't think we'd have ever switched if we'd have stayed.

LMS: Let me pick up on that--we've got about three themes that we're--seem to be running through--one of them, we left you at your first church school experience as an undergraduate and we didn't quite finish or make that connection.

AT: Oh yeah, that's right.

LMS: And then we've got a life style change that we've been talking about, and that making it kind of thing--if you'd flip back and catch up--us up from that ministerial training, is...?

AT: Right, I completed that as an undergraduate and then began seminary...

LMS: And you had an AB from there, then, at that point?

AT: Yeah, that's right, yeah, a B.A. in History with no education at all and then I began seminary there and part of that was a very difficult time because of the money business, paying private school tuition, and, you know, supporting two adults and two children was tough.

LMS: Margie wasn't working then, or was she?

AT: She did some babysitting but see, she took care of the kids and spent most of the time in dingy apartments. In fact, the first apartment we had there was above a garage by a college dormitory which is an awful place to live when you're married and have kids because I was gone all the time and there was nobody for her to visit with. Then when I began to attend seminary, the seminary had apartments and we then would live in the midst of seminary students. These were old houses broken up into little bitty apartments and we even had some good times with people then. Then after the first year of seminary, then a small church in Central State needed a minister and it was fairly common for students in the seminary to serve a student church, in fact seminary didn't have classes on either Monday or Friday, we had classes four days a week and we then--then we lived both in town and at the church. That was unusual, most of the families lived at the church and the guys came to seminary but we traveled back and forth together and then that was a start of leaving. Because when we went to that first church before we'd ever gone to the town, one of the officials called and informed us over the phone that the minister's wife always plays the organ and we didn't even question that, you know, and for that whole year my wife just knocked herselt out struggling to play the organ. She played the piano as a kid. Well then, there was a thing in that town that there was this little small church with about 80 members and a Methodist Church with about 100 members and they decided to, what they call yoke those two parishes and have a fulltime minister for them. In fact, I was--I worked at doing that and then I went to another town that had a larger Methodist Church and continued to attend seminary and many of the pressures on the family were even greater there. The kids were getting older and we just decided to leave and really didn't know what to do because we never really considered going back to the farm. That was--I--

PK: Were you specifically unhappy with the conditions there or was it a similar disenchantement with the ecclesiastical life, the life of the minister...?

AT: Yeah, okay, yeah, we felt when we left that we would be much more active and that we would do more good religiously out of the ministry. We felt frustrated by the politics of the ministry. Ministerial groups were, you know, a frustrating experience, dealing with the politics of the church, all the factions of people fighting with each other. Those were the things that were most oppressing to us and as I said, we felt we would be more active after we left but we weren't, that didn't happen at all. Now, this had been coming up for a long time. I don't even know how long because it took us a long time for me to make that change. My wife really had to push to--she was the primary push to get us out of the church. Part of that was because my family was big on, you know, when you start something, you finish it kind of thing. That was a very powerful thing in my life and it relates--I think it ties some of this together because after making that first change it was a lot easier in the future to look at alternatives. We left the church there. And I went to the University expecting to go into the Graduate School of History and I was--I knew so little about anything that I didn't even know that the State University, you know, was one of the top history departments in the country. And of course, my undergraduate college grades were not all that high. I was working full time and whatever reason anyway, but we left that town and we had all our stuff in a U-Haul trailer and were at the University before I found out I wasn't accepted.

LMS: You had just applied, or you hadn't even applied, or?

AT: Yeah, I had applied but...

PK: But you hadn't heard?

AT: Hadn't heard, no.

LMS: You assumed you would be?

AT: I just assumed that--hell, everything else had worked.

PK: You were a nice guy, right?

AT: Yeah, that's right, yeah, yeah, and you know, and...

LMS: You grew up in the state?

AT: If you wanted to go to college you go to college and no one ever--that kind of thing--and I honestly don't remember--there's a real big blank in terms of the steps I went through to then get into...

The tape ended. While we changed that Alec poked again at his smoldering fire. We went on:

> LMS: Well, I got us back on--we're back at the fireside trying to get the green logs and the wet kindling to burn. Well, did you go right on into the Ed School then, immediately?
>
> AT: Yeah.
>
> LMS: So it was a matter of a couple of days getting yourself organized or trying to...
>
> AT: Yeah, well, we went up there in the summer and I officially enrolled in the fall. Then there was a program that had a Master in Arts teaching program up there. And it was specifically for people who had undergraduate degrees in something other than education and part of the group that was there, was in for the summer session. They had a summer school of some kind that they were working with and one of the faculty that I talked to suggested that if you have some time why don't you drop around and you can see what's happening, you know, get used to the program. And so I did and the first day I was there they said why don't you teach this--and I've forgotten--it was something about--I don't know--silk worms or something--tomorrow and I did and they video taped me and all this sort of thing. And this was before I was in the program, but it was a real kind of a thrilling--you win and all that--it was a very--experience based kind of program and that was an excellent experience. We then--we were fortunate also at the University in that we got into a graduate student housing place and we met people there that we had very good experiences with, and all that kind of thing. And then of course, it was--that's later that year then that Eugene Shelby came up and was interviewing for Kensington...

Through an arrangement of an instructor among the university faculty who had been a graduate school friend of Shelby's, the contact was made:

> AT: Right, in fact I was in a--I forget--I was--I had a seminar one evening and another instructor was in there. He wasn't the teacher but he was talking with us that evening--I don't remember what--about what. And he said, by the way, some of you might be interested--this friend of mine is interviewing perspective teachers and he's looking for teachers for a very kind of an exciting school down in Milford, if any of you want to come, come over to this place and I made a note of it and almost enrolled but I didn't and I then heard Eugene talk about Kensington and then he said if there were people interested he'd like to meet with them. And I met with him and talked with him and ended up going to Milford,

> and I was--you know, his description of the school really excited me--I'm still very committed to that kind of school--I really--you know, that part of--that aspect of my--I'm not sure if you'd say values and so on has been very constant.

As Alec talked about his current teaching experience the thread of ideology ran true:

> PK: Alec, what are your specific teaching--typical teaching assignments, courses?
>
> AT: Human development, principles of learning, into that area primarily--early childhood development, I taught that course a couple of times...
>
> PK: Are you involved in any practicum or clinical or you're involved in the schools in any way, pursuing students or working with students in the schools?
>
> AT: I'm not right now. In the time that I've been here I've probably close to half the time I have been involved in teacher preparation to the extent that I've been in and out of schools and during two years I was in schools quite a bit. We had an experiemental project in the College of Education--we had four faculty members and then this is for Elementary Ed people and they would work with the same four or five other members for two years on their Elementary Ed and their psych and their whole professional education. And they had field experiences each quarter. We worked with four different schools and the program for the undergraduate students was one in which they set their own goals and consultation with us as faculty. Very much like--there was a program at Florida State--Coombs was involved in that--and I like that kind of program very much, I had a very good experience in terms of my personal benefit and in terms of feeling that I had an impact on students because I find teaching undergraduate students that it takes them also a quarter before they become self-directing in any way. Now that--it's the same kind of thing that I felt at Kensington, students who had attended school for four years took longer to start moving in Kensington than kids who had never attended school, you know, that kind of thing. But in this program students would come in and sense they were going to be with us for five or six quarters and it really didn't matter if they didn't do anything first quarter so we had, for this--for the program we said, well, to be an effective teacher here are ten very broad goals; you should be able to plan lessons, you should be able to state your philosophy of education, you know, very broad kinds of things and you're responsible for accomplishing

> that. You have to set your own goals and for the first quarter, people founder a lot and people get angry and they say it's not fair, you know, what we should not do and if you don't tell us that's not fair, you know, and that kind of thing...
>
> LMS: Could you make any parallels with Kensington on that?
>
> AT: Oh yeah, yeah, it was very--a very similar situation really, but then by the second quarter these college students just take off and then they really make some progress.

Once again, the conclusion of a side of tape brought a shift in the conversation, as the interviewers pushed back into life styles:

> LMS: Again, we're kind of jumping around one of the thoughts that hit me--we only half explored that kind of life style transition. Somehow I got an image of sort of a short hair cut, clean shaven, eager, young math teacher who is on his way and somehow...
>
> AT: Yeah, I...
>
> LMS: The hair's a little longer and the beard's a little greyer.
>
> AT: That's right--that all--in a fairly short period of time --well, you know, it was when hair styles were changing somewhat. And then I started letting my hair grow and I had a beard and a mustache for awhile and I had the beard off for awhile but all this was pretty much in Capital City. I think I started the beard the first time in Southwest City and it was that late 1960s then that pretty much went--for a period of time there for two or three years or so I pretty much wore work shirts and blue jeans all the time. And you know, I was a graduate student at the University. We would sometimes go for as long as a week and never even start our car. I bicycled for a two year period. I averaged ten miles a day of bicycling, you know, for calendar days. I depended on it. But that was--we made quite a shift in life style there and seriously considered--in fact, you know, lived for two or three days at a time out in the country with people and lived in a tent for a little bit and seriously considered building a small cabin out--with some people--but again that was closely tied to this same educational interest because a group of people that we knew started a free school.
>
> PK: And this is still, where? In...?

AT: Near Capital City and it still is existing. I think they have about two hundred acres out in the country. It was a case of the group of people who started that, some of them, and the people that I talked to the most were primarily concerned with starting a school very similar to what we talked about at Kensington, that would be very supportive of children, encourage them to explore but it would be more like a boarding school--it was out in the country.

LMS: Twenty-four hours a day school?

AT: That's what the aim was yeah. Now there was another group of people who were involved in starting it who were primarily concerned with forming a strong kind of political --so they saw this as a--you know, a true counter-culture revolutionary action. And then there was another sizeable group who was just primarily interested in doing dope, you know, and getting out there and just having a good time. And the southwest is really good for that because the climate is great, you don't need much food, you don't need much shelter. And those three interests are not all compatible though when it gets down to making decisions.

LMS: It's quite similar to the kind of two or three or four groups in almost every alternative school that every was...

AT: Yeah, that's really--I think in that way it was--yeah, very typical. Earlier I started to make some comment about you kind of have to keep them there kind of thing and that particular school I saw that illustrated so much. They did have--some of the people lived on site. And, you know, it was starting, the building was not real large and then others came out in a bus for the school during the day. Well, it was all, you know, if you take the attitude that well, you don't force people to do things, you let them suffer the consequences and learn what to do. That's fine except if half the group leaves every day--you see--so you know, this place was--they were essentially trying to follow the Summerhill model of democratic meetings. And they, say people leave the kitchen all messed up, the people who live here have to clean it up and that was a constant struggle. I think that is a very significant kind of variable.

LMS: Did you teach in that at all or did your kids go to school there or...?

AT: No, they didn't and I never taught in it. Our kids became very close to it and as far as--I'm pretty certain that they decided not to, we kind of encouraged it although then not a lot--we were--it wasn't--we never really went into it wholeheartedly but we had several friends who were and so we spent quite a bit of time on the periphery of it.

Concomitantly, several other strands of values and activities intermingled:

> LMS: Did that kind of stuff, either by way of time commitments or activity or more the ideology of it in a sense, get in the way of your progress towards your degree? It sounds as though you moved right along on courses and requirements and...?
>
> AT: Yeah, I did. No, I wouldn't say so, most of the people that I was involved in this with were in my department, either graduate students or faculty.
>
> LMS: So there wasn't an opting out of the work ethic in one sense, or at least in terms of moving on one's program?
>
> AT: No, not that--no, that part was continuing on--now, I don't think that I ever, in terms of sort of trying to get away from doing work I think it's a different kind of work. I'm, I guess, for awhile in Southwest State we thought pretty seriously about moving out in the country and really trying to become more self-sufficient. I think that's not going to work at all but...
>
> PK: You seem to be suggesting that a major chunk of that change or shift occurred in the south and that since you've come to the north that there hasn't been all that much shift, or is that not a fair statement?
>
> AT: I think that's accurate, yeah, that was the biggest portion of change. I think now...I think there have been since being here--this was the first experience I--now here the problem is sort of different. We'd like very much to move in a sense. But you know, it's really difficult to move to a different college or university and if you do you start without any kind of seniority and tenure and all that sort of thing. What this enables us to do here is really do a lot of traveling and that's something that we have done much more of since we've been here.
>
> LMS: How does this enable you to travel? Income level and freedom from expense?
>
> AT: Yeah, in other words, at the present time--since we've been here both Margie and I have been employed. My salary at the University is--if I worked just nine months and one summer session, then we can travel the rest of the summer pretty easily.

The traveling has been varied: teaching in a year abroad program in Scandinavia and economy trips to Europe:

> AT: The first time we went abroad we found a charter that was less than $400 for each round trip to Frankfort. And then we had a Eurail pass and we really traveled cheaply. We both enjoy traveling in Europe with just one bag apiece. I have a back pack and Margie has another kind of bag and living just minimal kind of food and so on--we really--now--it's [illegible]ler to do in Europe because...
>
> LMS: Live in hostels or did you hotels or...?
>
> AT: Sometimes hostels, sometimes very modest priced hotels, it would depend. We'd kind of vary it, second and third class range and every now and then, you know, when we were dirty and then we'd check in, and we had the American Express, and that's what makes it nice about this is that if you really get pinched you can always do it.
>
> LMS: Fall back on the middle class trappings?
>
> AT: That's right.
>
> PK: That may well be the best definition of the good life if there is one, to have the freedom to be able to enjoy the simple life but never leave your American Express credit card too far away...
>
> LMS: Does that typify kind of a current life style pattern?
>
> AT: Yeah.
>
> LMS: Teach pretty hard during the year, one summer session usually and then...?
>
> AT: Yeah, with the thing that's coming up now is my wife has begun a doctoral program in Western State. And, so like this coming summer, she will be there most of the summer and I'm going to be teaching first session then I'll go out there and then we hope to--last summer we did that, she went out for a workshop early in the summer and then she came home and then we went out together for the latter part of the summer, and she was doing some final getting program kinds of things done. We spent only about three days in the schools and last summer was a fantastic summer to travel in the mountains because tours (everyone talking at once)
>
> LMS: Gas shortage, everyone was worried about that...

AT: Yeah, we were in Yellowstone Park on the Fourth of July, and nobody was there and that is traditionally their biggest day of the year, and we checked into Old Faithful Lodge on the third of July with no reservations and that evening they were still checking in.

PK: It seems, I imagine Margie would maybe have some comments, but it seems like the two of you have really been able to beautifully dovetail and develop from her own kind of early farm experience where the wife supports the husband through school to developing a tremendous professional--her own college experience, pursuing now a Ph. D., she's had a fantastic opportunity, seems like the two of you have really, beautifully...

AT: Yeah, we're quite pleased with it. The major regret is that if only we had begun much quicker, she would have started and I would have just worked a little more and we'd have been a little bit closer parallel, that kind of thing. At the same time, yeah, her undergraduate program at Southwest State University was just fantastic. They really have a good program in Latin American studies and anthropology and so on. And that emphasis has been really important for me. My emphasis in psychology is in human development and so on and the influence of anthropology on me is really pretty great. That's my current interest area more than cross cultural kind of thing so when we've traveled we have spent a fair amount of time, you know, doing observations of kids and adults and families in public places and that kind of thing. And then this last winter, just this past winter, her assignment for January, Margie's assignment, was to be teaching in the Bahamas.

LMS: I'm not knocking it, I'm just enjoying it.

AT: Her college has a program in the Bahamas.

LMS: Whereabouts?

AT: In Nassau. And when she was planning what she was going to teach there and so on she said well, do you need somebody else to teach some child psychology and they said, yeah, we do, so she got me a job down there so I--we spent--I spent two weeks there during Christmas and spent a solid twenty hours teaching a class. That was a bit draining but that meant I got paid a little bit plus I got my transportation and everything paid and we got our room and board while we were there--just a fascinating--have you ever seen there? I don't recommend going there as a tourist at all--it's just--I wouldn't...

LMS: We spent a week at the Grand Bahama Hotel.

> AT: It's I guess because--of course, we were teaching Bahamaian students and teaching something--like I was teaching advanced child and adolescent psych. Now when you start talking about children and adolescence and family it's just amazing how--I swear, 90% of what we consider scientific data is a description of our culture and that's as far as we go.
>
> PK: All genetically determined!?!
>
> AT: That's right, yeah, and now my wife was down there and she was teaching early education and special education and that was kind of like a foreign language, special education is just something they don't--haven't done anything about.
>
> LMS: We walked into a neighboring town, and it was the same kind of busman's holiday. That looks like a school, we poked our head in and there was a big room of forty or fifty kids in second or third grade level stuff but very traditional, very routine and I presume, there was no special ed program, there was some kids who could do the work, others who couldn't do the work and...

Without any physical break in the conversation, Alec turned the conversation from the more factual and more travelogue entry issues back to the meaning it had for him at the moment and also to one of the most important aspects of his personal and professional beliefs, what he referred to as no "one right way." As interviewers, we missed it the first time around, but it was to return again, in several guises:

> AT: I didn't happen to see--I didn't get specific figures but there is virtually or very little money put into public education. The whole tradition there is private schools and it's the first time I've been in a country that was recently a colony and which that seems to be an overwhelming influence and it affects education because see, if there are no colleges in the country, anybody who went to college, and so now...
>
> LMS: They go to Jamaica or did they go back to England?
>
> AT: To England--see, it was a British colony.
>
> LMS: But there's been a college in Jamaica at Kingston for a long time?

AT: Okay, but Jamaicans are bad people--that's another thing that was fascinating--Haitians are poor, that's the poorest country in the West Indies. Consequently they want to go everywhere and they lower the standards for everybody else and all this sort of thing and Jamaicans are just dirty, and sly, and devious, and all that kind of thing.

LMS: So the stereo-types are...?

AT: Oh yeah, very strong. At the same time I found it was very intriguing in the Bahamas in that their culture, that it's not based on the one right way. They really are pluralistic in contrast to Americans who tend--our whole training is that there's a right answer for everything. You know, just like one right way, and one Jesus, and all this sort of thing. One right way to speak. When Margie talked in class about the question, well, how about dialect and things, should we use dialect, you know, that whole thing. In America that's a big issue and the Bahamians, what do you mean, of course you talk differently--everybody talks dialects in the Bahamas. Everybody, that is, most people talk standard English plus, and it's struck us as funny, the people who we were meeting who had studied at Oxford and one of them had taught at Columbia for a year and a half, well educated people, and generally speak with rather British accent but a musical lilt and so on but then when they were talking with each other, they go into a dialect that sounds like, really, like this one woman who was very well educated, we drove up to a house and there was a pick-up there and said, "Dat junior truck now, yeah?" And you know, this whole dialect which is very similar to Black English in the United States. And the other thing about Bahamian culture that I found fascinating, it is very much female oriented. The core of the society is female, women have--it's a female network--we would go to people's houses and they would be--the woman with her sisters and her cousins and her aunts and a few men around the edge. That's right--men are very much peripheral. Women, you know, a woman without a husband is very, very common. And children, and we talked about that to contrast, but they all live in extended families. And so that being, somehow, that kid is never isolated from adults as in America. You know, a single parent family means a kid has one adult to relate to but in the Bahamas that--they have all sorts of adults. And, anyway, that was a fascinating experience. I really, that's the kind of thing I think that we both really are very excited about, is spending time in other cultures. That started in Southwest City with contact with Mexican-Americans and Margie really just sort of immersed herself, she started studying Spanish there. There was Spanish television. She would listen to that. And so in terms of you know, life style, that traveling kind of thing is part of it, but our traveling is done on a very, very low budget and we found in Europe that pretty consistently--we only run into Americans in train stations and the kind of congregating centers and so on. Really like to travel.

LMS: She does too?

AT: Yeah, very much.

LMS: Did the two of you all of a sudden sort of fall into that and discover, "My God, this is great fun" or did...?

AT: No, it wasn't all of a sudden--it's--I remember when we were in a church in Illinois, that was the first time we had a vacation, we had two Sundays off and we left for New York City. Neither one of us had ever been--Milwaukee was the--Chicago--we'd been to Chicago and we had a--we crossed the ferry, crossed Lake Michigan, went up to Niagara Falls, spent about a week in New York City and just loved it and then when we were in Milford we started camping. We took our first camping trip with Dan and Chris. We went out to a state park and our daughter was sick that night and there was a thunderstorm, lightning was cracking around us, it was a horrendous experience kind of, but we got started camping. And then for the next several years we camped a whole lot and we took a lot of trips within the United States. We went down through Kentucky and out to South Carolina, back through Georgia and then after we moved to Southwest City we traveled out into the Rockies a few times and we went to Mexico several times. Traveling has been part of our life for a long time. However we had never thought seriously about going to Europe until our son went there to Greece. Now, as soon as he joined the Army he talking about getting--he thought he'd go somewhere and we immediately said, well, you better go somewhere that's fun because we want to visit you and all that kind of thing, and that was sort of the assumption and so while he was there then that's where we went. The second time we went over we flew into Spain, we got a real cheapo flight through some agency or other on an airlines which is a second rate Spanish one, rattlety-bang across the Atlantic, but it was a good flight, and then we went by boat from Spain to Italy and took the train across Italy and then another boat to Greece but we really like traveling by boat in those areas, down in the Mediterranian and then we went out to the islands of Greece.

LMS: The four or eight day cruise?

AT: We didn't take a cruse. No, we just got one of the islands but we went to Ios one time, that was simply because that was one that was available and we had about four days and we went on to Ios camped on the beach then the next time

> we went to Crete and just got on a--we got--there are boats that go between the islands and we took a night boat to Crete, that's a real--really, the cheapest passage on those is deck passage and that simply means you can lay your blanket down and the whole deck is just covered with people camping out on the deck, you buy food and take it on and people have guitars and all that kind of thing so it's just a big party all the way across the sea and Crete was really beautiful--anyway, that's--we do like to travel a lot. We'll be continuing it although the next few years will be kind of traveling out west and back.
>
> LMS: Does she have to do a year's residence out there at some point?
>
> AT: I don't think she'll have to do a full year. What she's planning right now is that she will spend next spring out there. She'll go out in January and I applied for a sabbatical, I don't know if I'll get approval or not but then I would go out for spring quarter.
>
> LMS: Do you have a sabbatical policy or does the state college system and university system have that?
>
> AT: Yeah, sort of, and I don't even know what it means, but there isn't much support for it. But if a department will let you go then the administration usually supports it, and my department has recommended that I be approved.
>
> LMS: A year at half pay or a half year at full pay or...?
>
> AT: One quarter at full pay, two quarter at 7/9 pay and a year at half pay is what they do.
>
> LMS: So once every fifty years, if you're lucky, you might make it.
>
> AT: That's right.

The travel talk intertwined with social values and ideals reminiscent of Kensington's formal doctrine:

> AT: Yeah, I also--I like very much the time I spent in Denmark last year. I--it was, you know, not one of those things, it's just different in so many ways but it was an experience --it's the most democratic group I've been with.
>
> LMS: The country or the...?

AT: The whole country, the country of Denmark. And it's just--and we visited pre schools and so on and you kind of see how, you know, culture is all over the place and different beliefs about young children and so on, just fascinating. There's a very real commitment on the part of each person to participating and making decisions. And, again, it's this thing of there's a real lack of getting the right thing, but, you know, the compromise is fairly good and they realize that everybody's interests are important and so we need to strike something here that everybody will be pleased with rather than who's going to win, that kind of thing. They have nine political parties, and we've always learned that that can't work in our country. But it was really refreshing and we also visited the Volk School and found out about this, see, every little community has this--has a Volk School that's for people eighteen years and up and it's a boarding school and people go there and spend a year. Each one offers at least, about a third of the curriculum is focusing on the Danish spirit, culture, history, and then they tend, many of them then have art, music, some have agriculture and various other aspects of culture but Danish people just sort of think that well, during their adult life they would probably go to couple or three of these--if they happen to have money they will pay but the government pretty much supports people who go to Volk Schools.

PK: What percentage would you say of people would avail themselves?

AT: I think--of the total population, probably during their life, I would say probably 75% at some point in their life. They were started for rural people in the late 1800's as a move to sort of democratize the country but now they--everyone goes to them.

LMS: Are you fluent in Spanish or German or anything besides English?

AT: No, I can--I remember enough German that I could do a little bit in Germany--German was my undergraduate language and I just got through it. And that was it, then I mastered Spanish enough for the doctoral program but that was reading and I rely on Margie primarily for Spanish, but I can get along fairly well, and especially if I'm there awhile. Those are the only two languages that I've had much--we didn't do anything with Danish and that was something we regreted. We were--everyone seemed to tell us that, you know, everybody in Denmark speaks English, don't worry about the Danish, you know, and it's true, every Dane knows some English but every Dan also believes that a mono-lingual person is ignorant. I found that when I was talking to a Dane. And something we learned very quickly was the Dane's believe Spanish is a very

> hard to learn so I found that I kind of exaggerated my Spanish (laughter)--Somebody would say, "Do you speak Danish?" and I said, "I'm sorry I don't, but do you speak Spanish, cause I..."--and that would stop them, (laughter).

As parts of the interview seemed to have exhausted their potential, one or the other of us would tilt the conversational interview back to some aspect of Kensington. And then it would flow into a three way collegial discussion, as we explored Alec's views:

> PK: Would it be possible to shift?
>
> LMS: Sure.
>
> PK: I guess I'd like to spend some time trying to dredge up the Kensington experience. We traced how you got there and to some extent the period past, but I'm really curious, in the years that have passed there must be times when you've read something, seen something that sort of floated that Kensington year past your memory again. What kind of general images do you have, the joys, the pleasures, what went, what didn't? Could you talk about, reminisce of the Kensington year?
>
> AT: It's something that I think both Margie and I identify as a very positive year for us. I have talked about it since, you know, rather frequently, I don't--I remember that, going back to Eugene, I remember Eugene talked about Kensington a lot too and I sometimes thought he was still living in it or something.
>
> LMS: This was when you were in Southwest State?
>
> AT: Yeah, but I found that, you know, in when I talked with my colleagues and so on about education, when we talked about open education and so on, why, I still see Kensington as an excellent example. I felt very positive about, I still feel very positive about what I was doing, about most of my professional relationships during that year. Most of our social life that year was spent with part of the faculty. And we remember that, you know, very, very positively--long, long times that we would be at Dan and Chris' or some place like that and it's one of those times--one of the few times when, you know, people that I was working with and people that I was socializing with were some of the same people. And it was really good. That's not true here. I don't socialize with any of the people that I work with, occasionally, you know, but it's just--I'm not working with anyone who is sort

> of, and maybe I, but anyway, who's that much kind of involved, and all that sort of thing. I remember very favorably a whole lot of the students at Kensington and, you know, I still use some of them in my lectures.

The interview moved into a discussion of the concept of structure, with Alec emphasizing different kinds of structures rather than a simple quantitative conception of less to more structure. He then raised issues in teaching child development to his undergraduate students:

> LMS: Where are you now with that kind of an idea? How does it permeate your work over at the college and...?
>
> AT: Well, I think I practice it pretty--have been working at putting it into practice in college studies and my--I see my role as a college teacher as a much--okay, the kind of thing I do in it, I teach human growth and development, that kind of a course. And I have--I make out a pretty complete set of objectives. I worked in computer assisted instruction--I was really big on instructional objectives for a long time and I've gotten to the point where I think I can use fairly well--well, anyway, what I try to communicate to students is that here are some things that I think you should be good at doing and here are some things you should know and then I ask that they write some papers, they do some various activities, and my primary role is then to react to their products and to give them feedback. I don't see myself as providing information. I don't hardly ever lecture.
>
> PK: What kind of class size and what kind of format...?
>
> AT: About 35 people and what I encourage people to--early in the quarter, to form groups of four or five people and do most of their processing work on the course as a group. Now I generally--in this human growth and development class I have a text for it and it's divided up into units and I have some multiple choice tests on those units and I encourage them to take those tests as a group and I treat that as a--you know, has to make a certain percentage right to qualify for a grade in the course. It's sort of a mastery of content and I encourage them to take the test as a group because they talk more about it when they do that and essentially what I try and build into the class are ways in which students will talk about the material that they're reading and...

> PK: Are there times when you're actually not meeting as a group of 35, like some of your class sections might be smaller?
>
> AT: Yeah, almost never meet as a group of 35. The first--like the first week is kind of that way and then I get them going and then I pretty much work in small groups and some of them I don't see for long periods of time. I use the class period as a time for them to meet together and work on projects, to take quizes, to talk with me about projects and so on and then I set the class up as a contractual kind of thing and I usually try to make quite a point in starting the class that I start from the assumption that everybody is here because they've chosen to be here and people don't really hear that right away but--in other words, and I say I simply--if you feel that you're doing this because you have to I don't want to work with you, that kind of thing and I encourage students to develop an alternative kind of contract.

We continued to probe for stability and change, linkages and connections:

> PK: I'm struck Alec, you know, we talked about it--the last 15 years in the life of Dr. Thurman--on the one hand we've talked about life style changes which seem rather remarkable and on the other side the kind of philosophical perspective while you've elaborated and deepened and do a lot of modification, you seem to be very committed ideologically at the college or university level, to where you were then. Now, what...?
>
> AT: Yeah, I agree, yeah, I really think so, and I think at the time I was at Kensington I couldn't have given much support for those beliefs. While I was at Southwest State I worked on that really, you know, that was--in fact, one of my professors was a fellow who while he was from Brazil, and he was a radical behaviorist, still is I'm sure, he had also been a minister and in fact, one of the things he said that made me start thinking the most was--it was one of my second classes at the University and it turned out that in the group of 15 people there were five or six of us who had been in the ministery and now we were all in psychology. And I said, isn't it strange and he said no, we're all trying to control people (laughter) and see, that was the point at which I really didn't think I was committed that much to controling people's behavior in detail but anyway, that started me thinking about that and I spent a lot of time with him and the question he--the question that he would always put to me, he said, well, why do people act, why do people behave and so I started thinking a whole lot about motivation and all that

kind of thing and so as I said, I think I have developed a much sounder theoretical base for what I do but I think I really am pretty consistent on that.

PK: That was my next question then, can you talk about the kind of cause-effect on that ideological position? Did you bring it with you to Kensington? Was it born there? Was it--can you talk about how you think that ideological perspective came to be and particularly what role, if any, Kensington played in it?

AT: I think I--somehow I must have had--I think I had some feelings about that role of the teacher. I think probably what was important at Kensington was that it--we did a lot of talking about the role of the teacher, the purpose of the school. One of the really significant events at Kensington was when Sam Stone was there. I remember that very--do you remember him at all?

LMS: I don't.

AT: He did the photographs for the magazine article, whatever, Look was it? Which magazine did that?

LMS: National Weekly.

AT: Yeah, he did the photography for that and he also has a photographic essay book that he published on Summerhill. And he was--operated a school in New York based on Summerhill and the night that he was there we sat up most of the night, several of us, talking with him about his school and Summerhill and approaches to education, you know, that sort of thing. So my year at Kensington, I think was quite important in shaping some of those ideas. Now it certainly wasn't, when I was at--that may--I haven't thought about that--that may be another reason why I left Country Day because that was not part of their philosophy.

PK: That it was there in kind of embryonic form at Kensington and it was a bit more crystallized than perhaps you thought, and Country Day contrasted?

AT: That's likely, I hadn't really thought about that but probably, yeah. The part, you know, as I said, the aspects of Country Day that I liked best were those which were consistent with Kensington and that was the woodshop and the art department. See, there were little things about Country Day that was a nice balance. It was a heavy emphasis on academics but every kid went to woodshop every week. And there was an old guy who was in charge of that who was retired but his approach to woodshop was during their first experience in that, and that was in third grade, every kid had to make some certain project out of wood. It simply required that they be about to measure and cut and so on, you know, and from then on for the next five years they could make anything they wanted to. And his woodshop had plan books piled up all over and kids would come in and look and whenever they really found something they wanted to make he'd say, okay, what do you need, and then they would have to tell him the materials they needed. And then by the time they were in the eighth grade, which was the last year for most of them, then the eighth grade boys and the eighth grade girls each made a project for the school and they just turned out some fantastic stuff. And the things I remember specifically were individual students then for family night would have made special projects for their parents, you know, lamps, and book stands, and oh, beautiful handwork furniture that, well, you know, if a kid worked at woodshop for five years and likes it...

LMS: They ought to be able to do something.

AT: Yeah, and so that was his approach which was very, you know, what do you want to make, here's what you do and so on...

PK: Kind of like Kensington?

AT: Oh, very, oh yeah, yeah, and then the art person was the same way. They came into art and he gave very little direction and the part that I was always impressed with--impressed me--was that the kids could make that shift, they could go to woodshop and they could go to art, which was very non-teacher directed and then they could come back to math class and they could go to English class and they didn't seem to have any trouble make that transition, you know, and--I hadn't thought about that but I think--probably my--some of my philosophical beliefs about the role of the teacher just simply didn't fit at Country Day. It was much--I was very much, too much giving direction...

LMS: So if you'd been an art teacher or a wood working teacher you might have been able to live in that setting?

AT: Possibly, possibly, I--that--you know--that may be, I don't know.

PK: So you're suggesting, and you came to Kensington with sort of certain pre-disposition along that line? As you think of the interview and Eugene, is there anything about the plan or the idea for the school that seemed appealing? That kind of built on that?

AT: Yeah, I'm pretty sure that when Eugene talked about the school, now, I don't remember this specifically, but I'm pretty sure that he presented the idea that the teacher was suppose to be a facilitator, the idea of self-actualization,

> or fully functioning was the label--but anyway, that's the saying that was moving toward that anyway, that the child was--that kinds in school would be regarded as able to learn, the teachers were to be guiders perhaps, but not running everything, not the authority and everything. I think those are the kinds of ideas that must have appealed to me, that made it seem exciting. I'm--it is interesting, that--we spent, I don't know, a period of time, really debating because I had another offer. That was a straight elementary school and we went to Milford and it was a matter of kind of that seemed exciting. Part of it was Milford. I'm not sure, I think, if Eugene Shelby had come from, you know, this part of the country, I'm not sure I'd have gone there, to that school. Part of it was that, for us, and that point in our life. The other thing, we've also been, the last few years, Margie and I have done a whole lot of reflecting on child rearing. Margie teaches courses in parenting, our kids are now, you know, leaving, and we've had to think about that a lot. Our kids were pretty young at that time, our son was six and our daughter was four, but our child rearing practices from that--from the beginning, were very much consistent I think, with the Kensington kind of idea, that is, I know that when our kids were two and four for instance, we set up the breakfast deal so that they got their own breakfast and part of that was for our own ease, you know, that's what I would have said then, well, I don't want to have to bother with it, but I think part of it was also a commitment to the ideas that, well, if a kid's hungry they should decide when to eat and I remember thinking that when--or hearing about or talking about it with Margie when she was pregnant with the first baby, that newborn babies, if given the chance, will choose a healthy diet.
>
> LMS: That Aldrich business or whoever?
>
> AT: Yeah, and I have a--and I remember believing then that you know, kids are capable, those were kind of the beginnings of some of that. And a lot of other things with our own kids were very consistent with that, beginning--before we went to Kensington and then when we, you know, we moved down to Southwest, another thing that was continuously most frustrating about the schools there was just that kids were not regarded as legitimate people, they had no rights, their feelings and beliefs were just immaterial.

The interview, at this point, seemed more of a discussion of three academics wrestling with a set of experiences and ideas and trying to make sense of those experiences and ideas:

> LMS: Jumping a bit ahead or beyond or away from that, one of the things I guess I'm hearing is this blend of some changes and some stability as it were and it's almost as though--we left somebody...

Then, for a moment, we got tangled in some logistics regarding meeting Margie for dinner. We went on, as we tried different interpretations:

> LMS: Let me make my big generalization before--it may be gone already--we were talking earlier about your life style shift and I'm not quite sure whether you said it or whether you interpreted it or whatever and so on and the generalization I guess I'm reaching for is that it's almost as though your own behavior and your own life style for want of a better term, in a sense, is now coming totally congruent with that more basic perspective that was developing about both Kensington and how you want to raise your kids and so on. It's almost as though, my god, if that's good enough for my kids, it's good enough for the children at Kensington, it might be good enough for me too.
>
> AT: I think, yeah, I think that would be accurate. That I think the changes in our life that I talked about as having happened in Capital City and so on were a matter of bringing things together more, more congruency, I think that's true.
>
> LMS: Sort of untracking from the main chance or from--what was your phrase for it before? Getting on in the world or something like that?
>
> AT: Yeah, getting, and it's, you know, the pat phrase is sort of--I'm not sure--I think what it was was for a long time I don't know what I was attracted to but it was sort of this assumption that I would always keep earning a little more and getting this and that and there was a point there where we very clearly said, wait a minute, you know, we've already got more stuff than we need and since that time I think we--I think the things that we try to accomplish and do and so on are things that we really thought about and really value rather than, well, that's the way you do it. And up until the move to Capital City, things like housing and clothes and cars and so on, I hadn't really thought about. It was just sort of, you know, you want a better house, and...
>
> LSM: And a newer car and so on?
>
> AT: Yeah, and so when we were at Kensington, you know, we rented one of those apartments near the school because that's all we could afford. If we could have afforded a bigger house we would have done that.

PK: So the limits really were economic ones up to that point rather than value decisions?

AT: Yeah, definitely, yeah.

LMS: It's like the breakfast items are there on the counter and when you're hungry you go eat them and which ever ones you want in whatever amounts?

AT: That's right--I think that's accurate and definitely when we moved to Southwest City we--one of the things that we regretted about where we lived there was we took the advice of people who said, well, you have to live in this area because they have the best schools. And after being there awhile I kept--I started asking why are these the best schools and it turned out I knew the person who had been superintendent there for several years and he said, well, he said that the only basis for that is that 95% of our high school graduates go to college. He said, you know, that's got nothing to do with the school. He said, they'd go to college no matter where they went to school. And that's true, I mean, those are things that you know, the best predictor of a college attendance is the father's occupation, not those other kinds of things. But there--we rented a house that was in a suburban neighborhood and we liked it and all that kind of thing, but we were paying a fair amount of rent, and we were feeling badly because we couldn't rent a little nicer house and so on. Then we moved to Capital City, you know, again we rented a cheap house because we were on a low budget and all that kind of thing. But then, when this other job thing came through, we just sort of said, hey, it's--why don't we move into the student housing. We met people who lived there, and we don't have to pay so much. When we came up here then, we only pay $100.00 a month for this place. We bought it, I mean, but it's--but we had trouble with real estate agents because they would not show us housing that we wanted to see, you know, and...

PK: 'Cause you could afford more?

AT: We could afford, yeah, that's the kind of thing, yeah, and...

LMS: Do any university people live around here?

AT: Not that I--no--yeah, there's one other person who lives over a couple of blocks over there, but this is not, no, and see, that's--makes it uncomfortable because most of our neighbors are not in tune with us and you know, that's a frustration.

LMS: Talk a little bit about that more generally--I guess I had two or three things that were coming together. One was I assume most of your colleagues in the psych department don't teach the way you do and then do you get any static from them and if so, how does all that go and then is there some kind of community that you're a part of? You say you don't socialize much with your colleagues, obviously some of your next door neighbor type things are, you're saying, you're a bit off beat in that sense and somehow that isn't coming together for me...

AT: Okay, in terms of any kind of--I'm not sure how many of the people in the psych department know how anybody else teaches. It's something that's not talked about. That's frustrating to me, see, I would like to talk about it more with my colleagues

LMS: They don't talk about teaching in effect?

AT: No,

PK: But you don't get any particular flack for the kind of ...?

AT: No, there are--there's a lot of variation in our department in teaching styles and there are some other people who share my philosophy quite a bit. I don't mean to imply that you know, I don't like the people, there are two or three people in the department that I think I'm philosophically in agreement with and we get along well. They're just not our closest friends...There are a couple of other people but I don't get any negative feedback. I'm not sure if people, you know, if I were to--yeah, the first few years when I was teaching here I was a little bit hesitant to talk about what I was doing and part of now I do talk a lot more about it and for various reasons, I do feel more secure.

PK: Can you name the difference?

AT: For one thing, I do have tenure.

LMS: When did you get that? Just the last year or so or?

AT: Yeah, the year before last.

LMS: You're an associate now?

AT: No, I'm a full--but part of it was--it really had less to do with the tenure than becoming more confident myself, because when I started here that was my first college teaching experience where I was in charge of a class. I had worked as an assistant in graduate school in stat classes. I liked that pretty well but that was more--that was the one on one kind of tutoring and helping people with specific problems. I would say it probably took me the first couple of years here before I had developed a teaching style that I--was pretty shakey on it when I started but after about two years I was pretty confident about what I was doing and then I started talking about it more. And I--had a number of faculty on the campus, not in our department, but other people who had asked me about it because they'd heard from students and so on. There are some people who are very interested in it and right now there's a proposal at the university that I've helped work on to develop like a college within a college for about 30 students a year. It would put the same principles into practice. Rather than going into all the details --I'm working on another thing so in that same area, okay, now, one of the things that's been very beneficial with my wife's present job is that her colleagues are--she's in a department which is a very supportive department. She's having experience in that department similar to what I think we experienced at Kensington. The people she works with are supportive of her as a person and they all--they're not all alike. It's a former home economics department and so it has early childhood, family education, clothing design, cooking, social work. It's all these sorts of things but all of the members are very, very supportive of each other and very much--very in tune with one another's feelings and attitudes and so on. So there are a couple of those people that we see and we have some other friends in the community that neither one of us work with that we've kind of found. But one of the real difficulties here is the lack of people that we can feel close to. Some of the people in the Unitarian Fellowship are people that we see frequently.

LMS: The people you socialize with and see and...

AT: Yeah, and as I said, that's something that we--in Southwest State there was a quite a number of people that we felt close to. People who shared some ideological, philosophical positions. There are less such people here. There have been --oh, there have been--there's one couple who we knew them in only a little bit and then he was at Cornell for awhile then he came here and we were quite close with them and then they moved down to Champaign-Urbana. People that we like tend to leave.

PK: Is there a cause-effect relation with them?

AT: I don't think--I think it's just this--that's a frustration as I said. In many ways we would like to leave State College. There really isn't much about the town that we would say we like a whole lot except it's--I like my job, I like what I'm doing and I feel I'm pretty free to do what I want to do and it's--provides us with a lot of other opportunities. And I--and just recently I think we've kind of decided that we're at least going to be here a few more years. We just now, in fact, we just--we haven't completed the closing yet, but we bought some land on the river now. Kind of decided that if we're going to live here we ought to maximize the benefits.

LMS: Where would you want to go or what would you want to do?

AT: That's the problem, I don't--see, there isn't any place that we want to go and stay that I know of. We'd like to spend some time in the southwest, we like New Mexico a lot but I'm not sure that I'd really want to commit myself to living there for--you know, we like the area a lot but there are a lot of aspects of it that I don't care about and to think of it as being permanent, I don't think--I'm not sure I'd like that. A lot of things about politics there and so on that I'm not comfortable with. That same thing goes for other parts of the soutwest. New Mexico is really appealing in terms of the cultural diversity and so on but as a place to, you know, spend the rest of my life or maybe retire, it's not too appealing, I don't think.

LMS: I don't see what the issue is in terms of why that wouldn't be?

AT: Oh, okay, why it wouldn't be, okay--the little bit I know about New Mexico and having been there, I think that it --let's see, what--that's difficult--I'm not sure how to put that because we always end up saying it's the water problem and I don't really think that. No, I think it's part of the spirit in states like Minnesota or Wisconsin of the commitment to social services, commitment to education, that sense of everybody should have a good life. I think there's more commitment to that than places like New Mexico.

LMS: Sort of like Denmark?

AT: Yeah, in that respect, yeah. For instance, we liked Southwest City but in terms of a long range time of living there, I think there simply wasn't a good newspaper, there isn't one here either but Metropolitan City has a better newspaper. Here the thing is, Metropolitan City is near by and as a cultural, city with culture and so on, it is pretty good and as a city with diversity and so on. It has a sizeable Black population, large Indian population, and a large Chicano population. One of the surprising things about the state is the large minority group of Mexican-Americans.

LMS: Came up for the railroads, in part?

AT: Yeah, that's right, yeah, that's part of it and then the migrant workers who ended up settling here.

PK: I sense that part of the attraction might be and I could be way off base and this may be projecting my own--but that the sort of midwest rural woodcutting, the kind of continuity with a family tradition, a cultural tradition that seems like it's better met here than in a somewhat more abrupt change of in southwest. Is there any appeal to that at all or any pull of that kind?

AT: I think that's possible, yeah, because when we've talked about it in terms of geography and climate I think we would really like to be, let's say, two or three hundred miles further south and that puts us in another state and I'm not interested in living there, you know. I mean here, it's almost a little too extreme, like gardening here is limited. If we don't get our garden planted by the first of June we don't get anything. It's a very short gardening season. I'm sure part of it is since both of us lived for 18 years in the northern state and that may have some very powerful effects on what feels right to us. Margie especially, though, really feels some real, almost a spiritual feeling about parts of New Mexico and I understand that, it's really a...

PK: You mean that she feels they are attractive or...?

AT: Yeah, yeah, that she feels at home there. She spent last summer, two weeks in a workshop with somebody from there. And they visited a number of places in New Mexico and some of them were very different--very, very traditional groups you know, where they don't have running water and all this--they're really--and that area, she just continually feels like she feels right there, you know. Sacred mountain is in the right place and all that kind of thing, you know, whatever that means--but I guess part of the thing is as I said, you know, all the way through, from the time we left the church until we got here, we never were in a place where we thought we would stay. We were always thinking of leaving for somewhere else. This is the first place we've been--we really might just stay here and it's almost that idea of--I don't want to say I'm going to be here forever but...

LMS: Maybe another ten years?

AT: Yeah, I don't know, I don't know what will come with that, I don't know. One of the things I think would be for me would be just a great thing is now that, you know, that college teaching thing is tighter that some kind of exchange program could be worked out. I'd just like to go and spend a year somewhere else, or two years.

PK: I've had that same feeling. We feel locked in and yet I'm sure there are two developmental psychologists in different parts of the country that would like--somebody in New Mexico would love to have a year here but sure wouldn't want to live here, right?

AT: I think, yeah, that's what I keep thinking, yeah, that would--and in terms of overall healthiness of the profession or whatever.

PK: One way to beat the stagnant kind of burnout.

AT: Yeah, this business now of over supply and so on is tending--it can lead to a lot more people just staying, and I don't think that's good, I don't know.

LMS: Couple of other thoughts that were going through my head, one of them was I'm struck I guess as Paul was commenting earlier about the give and take that goes on between you and Margie in terms of both careers but also that kind of growing and commonality in life style that somehow you're not either running out in front or behind each other nor running in different directions or cross purposes and there may be some other ways that one can get snarled but I'm not hearing that kind of thing and part of that incredible both stability and change, it seems to me that's an intriguing piece of it I guess, is what I'm hearing.

AT: Yeah, and it's really--it's really a good experience, we both really, really have liked it. I think, you know, we were at the most conflict we ever experienced when we were in the church and it was--we had some real conflict. I think at that time, and one of the things both of us have talked about is that neither one of us ever have considered separation as a viable alternative. Now, part of that is, you know, my family kind of thing. It's something that I just never thought of. I'm not sure, I think during those early years probably, you know, we had a lot of frustration with each other but we never considered the alternative of separating.

LMS: That just wasn't an alternative?

AT: Yeah, that's right. Margie has said that, you know, if it had been, she'd have left but she didn't consider leaving me when I was continuing to be a minister. All she could consider then was how to get me out of it (laughter). You know, whether that's--it's been very good for us, I'm sure glad she did it.

PK: Had she been a better organist? (Laughter)

LMS: It's like that old Somerset Maugham story about this guy and I'm going to tell the story badly or wrong, the -- who was a millionaire and he couldn't read and write and somebody was commenting about what he could really be if he could read and write and the story was that he was hired as a church sexton and things were going along fine but he couldn't read and so they fired him and then he went on to this job and that and struck it rich some place and as the guy said, you know, what great things and still be a church sexton (laughter)

PK: I could respond to what you were saying that you know, that wasn't a viable option, what it may mean is that some couples with that kind of lid, it really causes them to work hard at a relationship and consider one another and to build and to make it. That same lid in other circumstances may lead to violent reactions and or quietness or--some of us are fortunate I guess and others...

AT: Yeah, it's worked out fairly well and I guess the other thing was as soon as we got married we lived near our families for just a year and then we moved to Illinois and it was sort of from that time on there wasn't anybody else for us to talk to. You know, it wasn't a matter of staying together and separating like this...But after we left the church I would say then that we--it's been very positive since that time with, yeah, a pretty good meshing all the way around, of interests and so on.

LMS: Again, I don't want to over generalize but the kind of thing again, an item that struck me in the same way. For whatever reason she gets excited about Hispanic culture and studies Spanish, begins to study multi cultural kinds of things and all of a sudden that's illuminating child development and human learning kinds of courses that...

AT: That's right, yeah.

LMS: And I guess part of what I'm asking, another instance of the same phenomenon and I presume one could dig up a half a dozen other kinds of instances of that sort, fair enough as an interpretation?

AT: Yeah, right, yeah, that's--I think that goes on with us quite a bit. I know that--well, she talks about Kensington sometimes I know too, and well, in fact, it's interesting when she applied or was getting some things approved at graduate school she got a call from somebody who was reviewing her things and she had listed on there that she had worked with Leslie Roberts on it and she did some coding for him as an assistant. He called her up and wondered about that because he was doing some evaluation work and so on. One of the things that is very frustrating for us in terms of her completing a doctorate at this point is that in every way she went through a doctorate program...

PK: Somebody ought to give her one?

> AT: Yeah, 'cause our life was spent with graduate students and she was a student for part of the time, but then for the last year we were in Southwest State, she was working as a--at a residential treatment center for emotionally disturbed adolescents and was in the education section, teaching. And several of our friends were working with this school as consultants and all that sort of thing so we have never worked together on much of anything until very recently. We've done a couple of, you know, one session presentations or something where we have worked together and that's been very positive but up until now we haven't done that. It's been more kind of adjacent to each other.
>
> PK: I could see the struggle you were saying, now pursuing the degree, it's almost like if any of the three of us now had to go back for a second Ph. D.--it's pretty tough when you've had a whole range of experiences and then go through some of the formalities.

### 4.3 Margie Thurman Arrives

Our discussion with Alec Thurman took on further dimensions when his wife Margie joined us, initially for dinner and then later, when the taping began again:

> LMS: It's now 9:15 in the evening, we've just come from a lovely dinner at the Kluttered Kitchen which is a vegetarian type place near State College. Our three-way conversation has now been increased, and has been for the last couple of hours, with Margie who has joined us and we're talking a little bit about sort of where we're coming from, where we're going to, the kind of issues that we might relate. We were into some exciting discussions of, I suppose I would call it educational philosophy, points of view around the nature of schooling, the nature of education and particularly around some issues in special ed and how that is related to a more general problem. And then we've been sort of setting some additional agenda type items, one of which is to give maybe Margie a bigger chance to sort of say something she wants to say about how that world is. We've been after Alec for quite awhile.

The conversation continued over former Kensington and Milford staff, the consultants who had been a part of the experience, and the national organizations that might provide linkages among the people. Margie tilted the conversation back to Kensington and we (Paul) in turn tilted it to the question of "Kensington as a success or failure." This provoked several major issues in belief systems:

> Margie Thurman: I guess I'm more involved in the Association for the Education of Young Children and also the national council for family educators. I guess going back to Kensington, I just remember as a really kind of exciting time in our life. We had, you know, grown up, had the farm background, that sort of thing. And then been in the church and that was all a very controlled kind of, not deviating very much from the past that we had grown up in. And then spent a year at the State University which was kind of a reaching out or looking at new things. And then Kensington just seemed to be kind of an extension of that and I think that the school made a profound impression on me. I can't help but continue to be influenced by it when I, you know, work with student teachers, etc...I guess the whole philosophy behind the school. It was a very optimistic time in my life when you think of, you know, wow, this is changing, that's changing, this is the hope of the future and this is all going to be very exciting. And that kind of feeling probably continued throughout our experience at Southwest State also. The whole idea that the government is changing, the school system is changing, the system is changing too in a very positive way and now, as we were talking earlier, I think about some of the negative things happening in our society I can't really have that feeling about the society in general that that progress is actually taking place.
>
> PK: The question that I've asked a couple of times, it's sort of blunt, but as you view that year, you know, you pick at the school in lots of ways, an idea whose time had not come, as a success, as a moderate success, as a total failure, how would you characterize the year? Did the school fail? Either ...
>
> MT: Yeah, I guess I would say the school was a positive experience for those who saw it that way. Maybe, but maybe that's avoiding the question. But they didn't fail for me, it was a growing experience for me. And our son was in the first grade there and it was a good experience for him. It didn't fail as far as I was concerned. I'm really glad that it happened.
>
> PK: But it lasted one year and then went zap!

MT: Not necessarily, I think some of the philosophy and the ideas kind of continue in various people that were associated with it.

PK: So you see its impact more on the teacher staff that then went on to other settings sort of carrying with them.

MT: Some of them did and I'm sure some of them decided that they really wanted to go back to that nice comfortable little closed classroom maybe.

PK: Alec, how would you react to that?

AT: Yeah, I think I would react very similarly. I think probably shortly after we left I might have been less positive, might have been more inclined to say it was a failure or something like that. I don't know because I'm--I don't know what makes a failure or a success on something like that. And that's one of those things that whenever you talk about that kind of thing it's always, well, how long does it last and so on. It was a success for me, a very good experience, a couple of people that we still maintain contact with.

LMS: I'm struck as we've talked all evening that the--all day really--that the ideas involved in the school keep rippling through your life, all over the place. In that sense I guess a related kind of notion if somebody, you know, if another Eugene Shelby came along, would you join up again?

MT: Maybe not for the exact same thing.

AT: I don't think I would teach in a public elementary school no matter what people say. I, the thing I said now, is that in terms of teaching and so on, I like working with--in pre school settings and I like college work, but I don't like public schools very much. I would not be comfortable as a teacher in a public school.

MT: I guess I can't--I really haven't thought about it enough to separate the specific goals and ideals of Kensington from the exciting idea of let's try something new, you know, let's throw this out and try something new and just--to see what might work. I suppose just the whole idea of, you know, not being tied to conventions quite so tightly. I think that's what was exciting to me.

PK: Alec, is your reaction more to the age span, more to the what you would expect in the way of sort of a bureaucratic structure?

AT: Yeah, I guess it's the aspect of the--that--because the kids are required to be, and that whole aspect of the schools that I don't think I'd want to be part of that. I've--the last few years I've been in public schools quite a bit, I've been in schools that are pretty good I think, as far as public schools go and I would not want to--no, I like the--a--I like young people of that age, I don't care too much about adolescents, for being with them and all that, so secondary schools I would...

PK: But what if you had the group in a voluntary, private, sort of a school of tomorrow notion, it's not really a public school...?

AT: Yeah, that I might--that might be a, you know, a voluntary kind of thing, that I think I might be interested in. I think, you know, the project I mentioned being involved in up here at State College and so on is a very similar kind of project with different students. So in terms of becoming involved in that, I think I would, I think I am, you know, in a sense, I have been. But in a certain sense, if it were an elementary school and so on, I've kind of done that and I'm not sure how exciting that would be.

LMS: It's more--is it more the having done the experience or is it some distaste for the compulsory quality of the public schools? Which seemed to be your earlier...

AT: Yeah, I think it's the latter one much more than...

LMS: Do you have quarrels with compulsory education generally, in terms of the kind of more broad philosophical discussion we were having at the restaurant?

AT: Yeah, although I think I would support the kind of thing saying well, everybody for a certain age probably ought to be in school, not that much though, but then there should be a quite a variety of schools available to them to go to, but I would be much more comfortable without requirements.

MT: Are you sure that you would be?

AT: I think so, I'd like to try it. I don't like this, I'd like to be able to try...

PK: One of the usual arguments against that is that it would work even better for the middle and upper class who would have the guidance and the structure and the resources to choose wisely and the poor would have even a shorter end of the stick under that arrangement.

AT: That might bring about meaningful change more quickly. This perpetuates some sort of myth that in fact it will get better.

PK: Foment the kind of reaction...

AT: It might, I don't know.

PK: The question I have, you know, kind of ducking the question, whether it was a failure or not, I think it is accurate to say that after one year it changed very dramatically, took a different form, what would you think are the reason or reasons that brought about that shift from the Kensington of Year 1 to the point where you left...?

MT: As I remember it, and I don't know, you know, how well--I don't think I was operating on very much information at the time. First of all, but as I remember it, it was kind of the dissatisfaction in the district, kind of dissatisfaction with parents, on the part of the parents, kids really weren't working in school, they were playing in school. There was some jealously in terms of other teachers in the district. And I think one of the reasons, as I remember it, okay, that motivated us to decide we just wanted to move was that rumors that it would change radically, this is not going to continue this way, there are going to be this and this and this change. And we just decided rather than stay throughout the changes we would look for something else. Is that how you remember it?

AT: I think so, yeah, I would agree with that, I--see I think the reason that it switched back after that time, a major contributor is this kind of ideology that a-school-is-a-school. It's the school as the factory turning out uniform products. I think most people who are teachers perceive education in that way. Most other people also, but teachers--the other teachers in the district, I think, especially became very threatened by this school because it was getting some favorable things said about it. And I think essentially what the teachers saw was, well, one or the other must be right, we can't have two right kinds of schools, this one is getting favorable publicity that means I might have to change, we might all have to do that, I don't want to do that, that kind of thing. And I--at that time I was in--and part of the excitement for me was that I think I really felt there was a possibility of a school district having two or three actual options in elementary schools and have the kids make some choices. I, you know, I think that would be a very healthy kind of thing, I don't see much possibility of it happening.

LMS: It seems to be that's what the magnet schools in some school districts do, would you see that congruently or...?

AT: From what I've read, I think that's sort of the idea that is suppose to happen, yeah.

LMS: Where does that end up in terms of if you've got three or five different kinds of elementary schools in a district, what happens at the junior high and the senior high and so on?

At that point Alec raised one of his most fundamental beliefs:

AT: That's why it doesn't last because the only way the schools can be that way is if the society is that way and our society has--doesn't run that way...

LMS: Talk a little bit more about that.

AT: Our society, I think, has a strong commitment to right answers and one right way of doing each thing. Diversity is very threatening. One of the things I've taught here at State College is what they call here human relations. It came in in the late sixties as a new requirement for teachers. In that kind of thing, the way the class would start, have a group of teachers who were coming back to get this for re-certification and at the first session we would divide into small groups and then we would present some kind of rather controversial questions for them to talk about. In the early ones it was primarily about racial groups and women's rights and so on. They were clearly controversial questions and watching the people in the groups you could tell there were a lot of differences of opinion but when it came to reporting back out of those groups invariably one of the first comments from every group was well, basically we all agree, we have some sematic differences. And this strong emphasis on agree-ing, reaching the right answer, and part of, I think, the way I've come to feel about that is that I have to--one experience was in Italy and we were in a train compartment with Italians and Italians think it's very normal to argue. And Americans really get uncomfortable when there are real differences and that we don't--when we talked about, you know, a kid who perceives something different has a disability, they're not different, they're disabled. A blind kid is disabled and as long as we all agree, I think that's true, I don't think that has to be. I think there could be a lot more diversity and plurality in the society, but there isn't, not in ours at least. Does that clarify it?

PK: Yeah, so you're saying that it's that ultimate lack of diversity which spells the end of most efforts at either elementary or junior high and secondary to provide...

AT: It's not a real goal of the society--it's not the real goal of many societies.

We pushed the discussion back to the concrete case of Kensington. Margie made a point on the degree of change:

> PK: So, is it your feeling again, back to Kensington and the one year and the dramatic change, as you think back, would there be ways that you could prolong that alternative or even keep it going permanently? Are there any things that you think could have been done differently that would have allowed it to remain a viable alternative for--like extend it two, three, four years or five or ten or forever?
>
> MT: It was done too blatantly, I think it should have been done more subversively. It was just too much of a radical change. It was all of a sudden here's this new school with all of these new ideas. And that was good in that that was a motivation for the teachers on the staff concerned, I think, but I think if someone really is intent on making a change in the system they should be more subtle about it. I think like things should be introduced a little bit at a time. People just are not, many people are not willing to accept that radical change. Do you know what I mean? I think starting with a regular school setting and then changing a few things every year.

Although we didn't push it, she seemed to be arguing a point we had made earlier in Anatomy, the contrast between the "alternative of grandeur", the radical change gambit, and the "gradualist" alternative. Alec's earlier point, while not incongruent, seemed a commentary, if not attack, upon the value structure of American society.

Late in the evening, as the pro's and con's of the Kensington year continued to flood through the conversation, Margie made a summary statement and with our humorous and synoptic reaction provided a vehicle for a more extended comment:

> MT: I think in looking back on that whole period in our lives, it was a time of a change for us and we were pretty optimistic and we were enjoying being in a new setting. I was just having a great time being out of the parsonage. (Laughter)
>
> PK: No longer having to play the organ every Sunday?

MT: That's right.

LMS: Alec was telling us a little bit about that.

MT: So I don't know.

LMS: Everything else, by comparison, was heaven, huh?

MT: It was--our life was really rosy and we were, I would think, politically naive or naive in terms of the way that systems function maybe. We didn't really realize all the political kinds of things that were going on.

Shortly, she continued:

MT: Are you getting some kind of similar responses from various people or is it like nobody was in the same place at the same time?

LMS: Yeah, it's a little bit like the blind man and the elephant--there's an elephant out there, I think that's clear, but people are picking up on different kinds of things and it's incredible how, you know, one thing stays in your memory, something else is in mine and not that they're necessarily contradictory, but that often there will be a different piece of it that somehow sticks with people in that sense.

PK: One of the commonalities seems to be the people respond positively to it and judge it in terms of the impact on their own growth and tend to resist the notion of failure--no, no, no, it was a good experience, I gained a lot from it and so on. It seems to me that was a fair commonality.

AT: Well, that's kind of--that certainly fits cognitively to this.

PK: Sure, I wouldn't want to spend a year...

AT: I never spent a year doing anything that was a failure in my life except maybe a couple of years in the church. (Laughter)

MT: I'm glad you added that.

LMS: That sounds like it was a real trauma for you particularly.

MT: It was horrible--if I had had myself defined a little bit more as a person it wouldn't have been--would have been more of a trauma for him because he'd have been left there alone. But yeah, if I had been more self-defined, but I was defining myself as, you know, whose wife I was and that was just a horrible position to be in. It was awful, it really was, especially when, I don't know how much of this Alec went into but we were in a rather isolated spot and of course I had two young children which is not the easiest situation to be in in any kind of setting and I had a lot of the day to day operations of the church and...

AT: Yeah, because, see, the second church then, Margie and the kids stayed there all the time. Remember, I mentioned the first one we went back and forth together. The second one, she stayed there and I commuted daily and that meant I got home late at night. And that was a large church, that was a membership of 250 or something. I mean for a student church, it was large and there were calls frequently and that meant 250 landlords.

MT: Well, I mean, it was a large number of people. I remember they would say--well, drove by the other day and noticed the window was open that much and it was raining and...

LMS: Oh, so that kind of nonsense...

MT: Oh yeah, I remember, you know, just polishing that floor and how hard I worked. And some one had her mother's piano in our back parlor and said, "Oh, I hope you play the piano but don't let the children touch it." And I was going to prayer group and leading prayer and all this sort of thing and at the same time that Alec was coming home talking about these interesting theological discussions that he had been in --now this verse wasn't really true and this verse wasn't really valid and when they went back to the original Sanskrit that was completely non-existent. And so my faith was sort of shattered and I had to put up with all this crap (laughter). It was awful and of course, I was the minister's wife.

AT: And so many of, the minister's wife is expected to be extremely active in that and the children must be well behaved at Sunday service. And everyone watches you and the kids and the way you dress. If you dress casually you're sloppy. You dress fairly well then how does she afford that on your salary --you just--it is unreal--I know the small town church role very, very well. Our small town minister's wife is kind of cool and she comes drifting in with her kids and wears tennis shoes and just drives people crazy. She wears tennis shoes to church, I don't know why but she does and it just upsets people very much.

MT: You're very much a one of a kind in a small town when you are the only minister's wife there, or maybe one other one. And people aren't really honest with you either, are not really themselves. They don't think--I remember the first vacation we took after Alec was in the ministry--we heard all these people cussing all over--we didn't know this language. We hadn't heard it for, you know, a long time--it really made an impact on us--to get out of state and see people just kind of as people were.

PK: That should have brought about in you a desire to open more missions to cope with that problem!

MT: No (Laughter)

PK: More organs to play on Sunday.

LMS: Well, it's a little after 10:00--shall we quit? Can we come back tomorrow morning for a little while and have a go...?

AT: Sure.

## 4.4 The Morning After

LMS: The four of us are sitting having breakfast. It's now almost 10:00. We've been talking about our common experiences in various agriculture endeavors. We've been eating fresh raspberries that came out of the garden and also talking about co-op experiences. Apparently, if I'm understanding you right, you got into that in Southwest State at first and then when you came up here there was a group going and that somehow has been successful and that kind of thing in terms of a regular place with a regular, I presume, guy employed who keeps the place open and so on...

MT: Yes, not only as a food source but we meet a lot of people we like when we go shopping.

LMS: Part of the community in that sense--so we've been having a fine conversation about those kinds of things, and, I guess in some ways, want to just continue that and maybe pick up on a tack. You know, we've been, part of our general thrust is where people have gone, who were at Kensington fifteen years ago, and kind of where they're going. As Paul and I were talking a bit, we thought it might be appropriate again, to both push and pry a little bit but not more than you want, in terms of professionally sort of where you're headed--you're fortyish at this point and down the road another decade or two, what sorts of images do you see in that general arena? And we thought we might explore a little bit of that just to kind of capture that whole potential life span of people who come to--I guess you must have been what, 25-24, when you came to Kensington, plus or minus a year?

AT: I'm 41 now--15 years ago--figures up to about 26. Well, I think--right now the major thing that I think we're working on--Margie will complete her doctorate and we'll probably stay professionally in--I mean--I plan to--I see myself staying in college teaching. My hope would be that within--ten years from now that I would be teaching about 2/3 time, maybe teaching two quarters a year or something like that and maybe not necessarily here. But that's what I would like to have as a work load and then the rest of the time, I would like to spend some time on, you know, raising food and traveling.

PK: Do you see that as a part of an increasing move toward what, harmony with the environment? I sense in your conversation that you like to, both of you, like to put together your personal, your professional life a little more holistically, is--you know, part of it might be--I just don't want to work that hard in the university setting, the other part of it might be that you want to integrate a lot of things. Would you talk about that a little?

MT: I guess I could talk a little bit. When we were first married it was, you know, in the fifties, way back when. and there wasn't a whole lot of focus on what the wife would do. We were talking a little bit about that last night. It's kind of like I defined myself as a minister's wife, etc. and our children were born right after we were married and I spent a certain number of years at home with children. I was very eager to go to school.

LMS: You hadn't done any college work up to that point?

MT: No, no, we'd got married at 18 so it was--no, I hadn't--so I was very eager to go to school. And when I first started college I had no idea what I was going to major in, I just sort of went for the experience. And I was an art major for awhile, I was a major in sociology, I was majoring in psychology, whatever, and it ended up with a degree in anthropology and Spanish which is sort of--but then I started working with emotionally disturbed children, and just really, really, loved working with the kids and from there I moved into early childhood. And I just enjoyed that whole work experience and I've enjoyed college teaching a lot. But where I'm at right now is I feel like for the last ten years of my life maybe, I've been doing a lot of my self-expression through work and I'm not sure that I want to continue in that same vein. I mean, I want to express myself through what I do, but I need to do something more just in terms of a private life, or some at home kinds of things, relating to people outside of the professional arena, I suppose. So I--just last year I started a doctoral program at Western University in Family Life Education with a focus on growth and development, but I haven't really committed myself to finishing that program--no.

PK: I was going to ask about that--the pursuit of a Ph. D. would seem to be more of an intensification of the professional role and now you seem to be feeling you're not sure you want to invest that much of your life in only the professional side?

MT: That's right.

AT: Unless the program is really personally satisfying and all that--it's not something to pursue for itself but--if it works out well I think...

LMS: Did you have those kinds of feelings when you were at Southwest State University with your program?

AT: No.

LMS: You were just kind of doing it and--much more instrumental is the image I get?

AT: Yeah, I, and of course, I don't know--I was half way or more through the program before I was seriously thinking of finishing the program. It was more a way to earn money and that kind of thing, it was a way--school had always been a kind of a thing...

LMS: I guess what I'm sensing is kind of a funny--you sort of wandered in, I don't mean that pejoratively at all, and somehow got on track and it kind of evolved and presumably, if I understand the time line, went kind of along regularly without any big mishaps or big traumas or anything that way?

AT: That's right.

LMS: And it's done and so on. Here I'm detecting a little more planning about how you're going to do it and yet some misgivings as to whether you really want to commit to that kind of a plan which would then--but--yours was unplanned but it got there and yours is planned but it might not--that's what I'm trying to say.

AT: That's right, yeah.

MT: I think that's fair, yeah, and that was a different point in our life.

LMS: Yeah, which is another critical kind of thing.

MT: I guess I just feel that I am interested in this program, I like the course work, it's an individualized program, I set up my own course work, I like the committee that I'm working with, I like being in the west, that kind of thing.

PK: How much work have you done on it?

MT: I've only done--I've written the program--this is the type of program where you develop your entire program and that's a rather time consuming thing and I've taken a couple --I've taken probably 15 credit hours or something like that --that's about it.

PK: Now, would that all be in residence there or do you do some through correspondence.

MT: Some through our State University.

PK: How much time have you spent there?

MT: Oh, about just part of one summer is all and then I've been out there a couple of other times, meeting with the committee. I plan to be out there all of this summer and then next year have a leave of absence, and I'll be gone like January until the next August.

PK: That seems to suggest a pretty strong commitment to finishing it?

MT: Well, I'm committed to going this summer and...

LMS: And probably next January?

MT: It probably will work out that way but I think I've been more driven in the past--when I started my masters degree, anyway, it was kind of like this is the time table and this is when I'm going to complete it and it was painful. I didn't particularly like the course work for that degree and I've just decided this time that I'm really going to only do it as long as it feels good and maybe at the end I'll put up with some sort of pain and there'll be a crunch but I just don't want to drive myself, I just don't want to commit three years of my life to something that I'm not going to enjoy. At this point, I think I'm going to enjoy it.

LMS: You don't have any more residence requirement than January to August--will that suffice for that?

MT: That's right.

PK: You mentioned that you weren't sure how much of your life you wanted to commit to the professional and that you wanted to--forgotten the exact terminology but that you wanted to--had to manifest your own self through--partly through work and partly through other interests, express--what form might you see that taking? What things do you enjoy as now, as example of manifesting--expressing yourself--outside of the work thing? Alec is laughing...

AT: Well, you could list for days--she...

PK: She's expressing all over the place?

AT: Yeah, right.

LMS: You list two or three of those and then we'll see if she agrees with you, yeah...

AT: Yeah, painting, there have been three or four times that she's devoted some time to painting and has some rather good stuff--photography--interior decorating--clothing design--all those kinds of things--cooking--food--you know, those kinds of things.

MT: Well, not all those things in their finest sense. I think the word harmony that you used is a word that I really, really like, and if I have any kind of religion at all, it's a kind of living in harmony with the world I suppose. I like...

PK: Some examples of that--when do you feel in harmony?

MT: When I'm out in nature I suppose--just spending some time cross country skiing, canoeing, walking through the woods, spending some time with friends, I like more nature foods. Right now we're really thinking about the house that we're going to build and I want that to be very harmonious with the environment. It's certainly not that I want to retire and give up work. I don't mean that. I think because I started going to school so late, for the last ten years, I've been doing sort of double time, I've been taking classes, working full time, I've been involved in setting up new programs and it's been more than--it's been interesting but it certainly has taken the larger portion of my time.

LMS: Did you do that at the State University, your M. A.?

MT: No, here at State College, and then I did some work in early childhood at the State University, Institute of Child Development.

LMS: Did--I guess one of the things that hit my mind as you mentioned those last few years, did that intersect in some way with the fact that your kids are about grown now or overlap with that in the sense that the time involvement with your son's been gone, what, three, four years or is that where the time came from or did the time come from some place else that permitted the double load, or are you just running hard in a sense?

MT: Running hard I think.

AT: I don't think that you have been more involved just the last--in the masters but it was long before that because when she started her undergraduate college work, she put--she did absolutely the maximum for just about every course she took. I really--she was totally involved in the first--in Southwest City Junior College she was really--as an undergraduate totally involved and so that I--there hasn't been a big shift in amount put into it. I don't think, do you think?

MT: That's probably true.

LMS: Just been running hard a long time?

AT: Yes, that's really true and I think it's only recently that she's begun to think, wait a minute, maybe I don't have to run that hard. I really think that--it was during your masters program that you finally began to think that maybe some of this running around, not all of it...

MT: It's hard to put together and be very precise about it.

PK: One thing it seems to me to be clear is that both of you have--whatever the last time period has been--five years, ten years--have consciously worked at being in control of your own destiny. Many of us get swept along with the current and we get our degrees and make full professor or whatever we do and get swept along with it and it seems to me the two of you have just sort of consciously tried to drag your feet and decide is this what I want to do or is it not--to make a conscious rather than unconscious choice. What do you think have been some of the reasons for either of you? Why you...?

LMS: If that's really true...

PK: If that's true--and if that's true, why did the two of you do that? What led, encouraged, pushed, you to resist, in a way, being swept along with the current?

MT: I don't know. Possibly...

PK: Do you think it's true, first of all, that you are different in the way in which you're approaching the forties let's say from most of your colleagues either at St. Joe's or State College?

MT: I think to a certain extent it's true. I think our approach to life is a little bit different than a lot of people that I meet. I think part of it goes back to our childhood. We had very similar, maybe you wouldn't agree, but we had very similar childhood experiences. I was an only child growing up on a farm, rather isolated farm. I was--I attended a small country grade school and I was the only girl in the whole grade school--like six of the eight years and so I was sort of a loner in a way, and Alec was the oldest child by five years and so he was almost an only child in...

AT: I have two brothers. One is five years and the other is 12 years younger so my son is nearer to my brother's age than I am to my brother.

MT: And we never quite got into running with the pack maybe, or something like that. I don't know, I think we were always kind of reflective, maybe, and I think that was one of the reasons that got us into the ministry in the first place, a kind of a looking at the meaning of life, what is this all about, and I think we kind of continue to do that.

PK: Kind of an introspective quality throughout--do you recall that from childhood, either of you, thinking a little bit more than the rest of the kids or being somewhat different?

LMS: You're the one and only one girl, how many boys were in the school?

MT: Oh, about between 17 and 20.

LMS: Kindergarten through the eighth or first through the eighth or sixth?

MT: It was first through the eighth.

PK: What accounted for that distribution? They didn't kill the girls?

AT: I don't know.

LMS: Just an unusual six or eight years in that sense in the community?

PK: Most farm communities would view that as a good distribution--lots of good boys to do farm work.

MT: That's right.

AT: I think then that there was another--I would think that we'd also made kind of a real shift in Capital City on that. But it was very consistant--in that I think I mentioned when I was talking to you that after being in Capital City a time then we--my job with the lab was--in some difficulty with funds and we moved from a rented house to student housing and so on. And we did some kind of deliberate thinking at that point, but it was very consistent with the other points of time, when it had gone that way. But from the time we left the church, we began to reflect more seriously, and say, well, can we do this, I think, but it all does kind of tie together.

LMS: In a sense, that church experience really sounds like the focal or the key turning point. You know, not that other experiences, the eight years in the grade school as a girl and so on, but I keep hearing you coming back to both the pluses in that in some senses and then the array of minuses connected with that. That at that point life really tilted in some major way and the later experiences, whether it's Kensington or Southwest City or Capital City or here in that sense are increments on that or more elaboration but that's where the real fork in the road came--and maybe those metaphors don't fit?

MT: I guess for myself, I'm sure the church experience had some pluses but it was the most negative experience I have gone through but it was a growing experience in that it was a lot of throwing out of old beliefs and establishing...

AT: In a sense, it was as you said, you know, when you defined yourself as a minister's wife and finally got so bad that you pushed your way out of it--that's a big step.

LMS: But apparently you didn't have to be dragged off, kicking and screaming that my god, my whole world is down the tubes--no, I'm not hearing that either?

AT: No, not quite, but I mean, I was--I resisted--and I think a whole lot of it was just this business of I was--when I started something I thought I had to finish it.

PK: You know, we talked a bit about the belief systems much the last couple of days and I'd just like to probe a little bit Alec, the notion of that same crossroads. You don't usually describe it as when I left the ministry, you say when we left the church. Now, most patterns that I know follow a, whatever it is, a regression or whatever. They're active in the ministry or the priesthood and then they have doubts about that and they struggle and then they leave the priesthood or they leave the ministry. And then they are very active as lay people in the church and that starts falling apart so it's a five or ten year process of where they leave the ministry and then out of the church. You seem to have done it all at once. Can you talk about the development of that? Was, were the two of you parallel? Were both of you having far more doubts than either of you were willing to admit to each other? I'd love to hear you talk about that process of when we left the church, how long was that? And what precipitated--if you'd rather not deal with it?

MT: I agree with you that when we left, this isn't really starting at the beginning, we'll have to back track probably, but when we left, we left. That was it. And we were together at that point. We hadn't been I don't think, up until that point but when we left the ministry and Alec went back to graduate school at the University, we fully intended to be active in the church. And we went to church one time after that and that was it--we cannot, could not tolerate this.

PK: From the ministry to one time attending church--that's really interesting.

LMS: That's understandable from what you were saying, not so much from what you're saying.

AT: I'm not sure it was really just one time.

MT: Yes, it was--at the University. It was one time but then later on...

AT: I know what it was--we met--there was a student group with that church that we met with a couple of other times so ...

MT: That's right, but we never--we never did really get into it.

AT: No, we didn't and then when we went to Milford--let's see, we went to one or two other churches.

MT: Maybe it always has been--the particular situation that we were in, we were just so, well, being in the ministry you're so close to all the political kinds of goings on and we thought that once we were removed from that kind of knowledge that we could attend church. And things, would feel fine and it didn't.

PK: It seems that you really had more cleanly made the decision to leave the church when you took off from the pastorate or whatever than you perhaps realized 'cause you didn't really pursue the church actively enough to find that it was really still political. And I'm wondering about that year or two, late year or two in the seminary and starting the church, were you really upset with being a minister's wife or the minister or was it the nagging doubts relating to religious convictions and beliefs? Did you talk much to each other during those years saying, you know, I really am having more and more doubts about the church, about the existence of God, about religious doctrine?

AT: Do you think we did?

MT: I think we talked quite a bit.

AT: About doctrine? Because, see, remember, at that time I was talking about maybe becoming a chaplain in prison and that kind of thing.

MT: I think some of our religious beliefs changed relatively early as I remember it. And the, it was a kind of, but this is a vehicle for working with people and helping people. And Alec was considering that the prison chaplain--that kind of thing, and so we saw that almost as a social work kind of thing. So I think our religious beliefs faded relatively early and then what we saw of the institution itself--it just didn't have many merits.

PK: What would have contributed to that because again, the small, isolated, rural areas were the hotbed, 'cause I know that area--that is my life--the strong, religious convictions grow out of that--clearly work in the ministry would associate you only with other firm believers--whence the doubts?

AT: Well, that was kind of, I think, maybe the thing I liked about the seminary, was that it wasn't--there weren't very many firm believers. And seminary is a graduate school. It's much more theoretical of...

PK: So it was the seminary experience that...?

AT: Well, at least, yeah, somehow that was...

MT: I think seeing some of the behavior of the other seminary students maybe, I don't know.

AT: Well, this was a church in which most of the professors in the seminary, I would say, were sort of believers but they were existentialists. This kind of thing. Some of the students were real fundamentalists and so we had a lot of discussions about belief and doctrine and I think we were pretty clear in agreeing that fundamentalists belief--I don't understand it, it doesn't make any sense and we were at--and so in that sense...

LMS: The two of you?

AT: The two of us were in agreement on that--we had next door neighbors who--we'd have lots of discussions with them about that.

PK: So perhaps seeing more clearly etched the fundamentalists beliefs--some of the students would cause you--give you a better opportunity to question your own?

AT: Yeah, and then the--some of the--well, one of the ministers in the church there that was--was highly respected by all the church people and was, you know, gave many lectures--seminary students met with the seminary wives to tell them how they should behave and so on.

MT: I had actual classes in how to be a minister's wife.

AT: We had some situations with him where he was just a complete, unethical bastard. And you know, seeing--the church belief in doctrine and so on had absolutely nothing to do with the things, I think, that we thought were important. How, you know, the way one deals with other human beings.

LMS: So the ideals and realities were miles apart?

AT: Yeah.

PK: Did your parents or family enter into this at all? Was this somewhat of a shock to your family? Has that not been an issue?

MT: Okay, one thing is that we grew up in different churches, and so I think that was a beginning of our questioning also, because we came to this situation with slightly different beliefs. I was raised Lutheran and Alec, you being Methodist. His family was much more religious and close than mine. Mine sort of went to church to see other people, it was kind of social--still is kind of a social thing. I think Alec's parents were rather upset when we left.

AT: Yeah, I think they were, but I think I expected them to be more upset. I think part of my hesitancy had to do with my family. I think, my grandfather had always been very active in church work but one of the things that I remember being surprised is I really thought he was almost relieved. I remember he wasn't critical, he wasn't as critical as I thought he might have been, and, but I think, yeah, my concern for my family was, I think, what kept us in the church longer and...

MT: But that's interesting to look back on that.

LMS: Does that have any play in the future--where we were starting a conversation where you want to go professionally and so--it sounds as though beyond the Unitarian fellowship that apparently is a part of your lives now, that that isn't a big dimension.

MT: The Unitarian fellowship is--we enjoy the people that we meet there. It doesn't have, I don't think we've had a--we really don't even have religious discussions--it's a gourmet dinner club and a wine tasting party and cross country skiing and things like that and I think we are--our religious connection is that we aren't Catholic or we aren't Luthern and we don't really--there's a great variety of beliefs, I think, within the fellowship.

AT: We've been at--we were at one or two meetings that the focus was on spirituality and so on, and there's a great diversity in the group and so on, but it's much more of a kind of--yeah--we're not Roman Catholic, we're not these kinds of things and we kind of need some support and I think...

LMS: Just a lonesome band of--somehow are not in those big groups?

PK: Our Chancellor was a Unitarian--he used to joke that the Unitarian Church was a group of atheists without the courage of their convictions. One other, just kind of over generalization, you know, when you hear the raw data and it gets at you through the like, exciting and interesting to hear--a thought I had Alec, and would like your reaction to it, is that it appears that two really significant events in your life at least, one is that going to the seminary seemed to loosen most of your religious beliefs and going to a very rigorous doctoral program, seemed to loosen and jar most of your educational beliefs, that the usual--this isn't a good advertised, ad for seminaries and doctoral programs--would you react to that?

(Laughter)

LMS: I think he just did.

AT: I hadn't thought about that but it really does fit.

MT: I had thought about that. We sort of believed in the church as an institution or a vehicle or whatever and when we got really involved we became disillusioned. And I think when we--we were sort of enamored with the University and etc. and education and we became a little bit disillusioned with that--that's just something--I would say you're right--so...

LMS: Was it the kind of doctoral program that you were in in the sense of--if I understand what you're saying the other day--it was a heavily quantitative, statistical, empirical, if not experimental kind of a program, or at least that's what I associate with the University and your advisor and the kind of stuff that you were talking about. And that seems alien to the kind of way you want to live? Or am I misrepresenting either that or...?

AT: No, I think that's true, yeah--it was sort of as it--in a sense, I left the ministry and then from there on was into education. And the time, at the University, involved in educational research was sort of taking that to the same extent the seminary had taken religion and getting involved in--that, for me, was not the answer.

LMS: Are there people in the department that you can talk about educational issues with in ways that would--not be the answer obviously, I don't mean that, but are--I guess what I'm responding to is that I hear some hope yet that that Western Ph. D. experience might have a quality to it that you're going to find, able to express yourself within that, whatever the tradition there is, in a way that I don't see you finding the kind of earlier Ph. D. experience, being a vehicle to express yourself. And I'm wondering if there's any kind of part of the State College scene you--there were people coming at the world educationally differently than the way they did in Southwest State--that somehow can incorporate the kind of life you want to lead more generally?

AT: I don't know, yeah, there are a couple of people on our campus that share some of my beliefs and so on.

LMS: Are they in education?

AT: Yeah, one or two in education and one or two outside, but some similar views.

PK: Do you meet with them often or regularly or just by chance? You don't have a formal kind of a steady group that you run into every day or every couple of days?

AT: No.

LMS: So there's not a group that talks ideas--in the sense--one of the exciting things about Kensington for me is--been partially or peripherally related to--was that there was a lot of educational talk going on. You know, it went off this way or went off that way, and so on. But there was a vitality there and I'm not hearing that vitality in the ed department or the psych department at--you keep shaking your head...

AT: No, it's not there--there are a couple of people that I have occasional conversations with of that sort but it's not a regular kind of thing.

LMS: Is that the institution or is it the particular people or is it you, at this point in your life or...?

AT: I don't know--that was part of the--this project that I mentioned yesterday--I worked on for elementary education. That, I think probably, being positive features of that was that the faculty who worked on that. We did meet on a regular basis and part of that was book work or busy work but it was always--a lot of it was good discussion. What is important and how do we do it, and I think that the one thing I really missed that Margie has in her department is they do that more, and they have a department that is, they're kind of into that.

LMS: Collegial in some sense?

AT: Yeah, wouldn't you say?

MT: I would say that, yeah, I would say that the institution itself is quite--I won't even say that--I was going to say quite restricted but I'm not really sure.

LMS: St. Joe's now you mean?

MT: Yeah, but our department is just amazing. It is just wonderful. We have sort of an isolated place on campus. We're on the third floor of the administrative building and we don't--I don't know--we don't see a lot of other faculty members, I suppose, but we have a--it's a home economics department. It's very diverse--we have everything from--we have child development major--we have a family studies major--we have textiles--we have foods--etc. And so we're doing a variety of things but social work. But I have never been in a work situation that was so supportive--this is just so entirely supportive--it just really is amazing, and our department is constantly changing and we're doing this, doing that--it's a pretty--everybody is pretty innovative, is interested in trying new things--gets bored with doing the same old thing twice and so it's really a fun, interesting, teaching situation.

LMS: So the Western State Ph. D. experience ought to play into that, is what I'm hearing?

MT: I think it should.

LMS: And the test will come this summer and maybe next spring whether it really does or not?

MT: At this point I guess--I suppose deep down I intend on finishing the program--I just don't want to say, "I'm going out and finish that program in three years." I'm not going to say that.

PK: Because you don't want that kind of pressure?

MT: I don't, yeah.

AT: Well, just this morning, before you came, we were talking about the house we're thinking about and said, well now, that's going to take a lot of effort and will that work with going to Western. And we're saying, well, it may--yeah, there may be some conflicts, and it may be that that means the degree might take a little longer, you know, if it's important to devote a couple or three months to the house or something. We might do that, I don't know--at least we're--that's the difference I think--earlier in our life the completing the degree or so on would have automatically been the thing--wouldn't you say?

MT: Yeah--I was going to say--I really enjoyed my course work at Southwest State University in anthropology and Spanish and I had some excellent instructors--most of my instructors in Spanish were from either Spain or Cuba at that point, Argentina, all the...

AT: Political exiles--that tradition of--getting involved in that whole cultural aspect which was...

MT: So it was not only the language but was very much a cultural exposure to a maybe a Spanish way of--Latin American--a more relaxed view of life maybe and with the anthropology I took a lot of courses on Indian groups of the southwest, and so I think this has been a strong influence in my life. I think if I would call myself anything it would be an anthropologist. That's the discipline that I agree with or that I feel most comfortable with and that's, of course, work that I took last summer on cultures of the southest, the Hopi Indian--that kind of thing. And that very much I think, expresses my philosophy of life more so than any other influence in my life--a kind of a striving for harmony --a balance in your life.

LMS: I'm not hearing any of that kind of intellectual quality as much in your life here at State College at this point in time. Am I misinterpreting that? You've got a couple of courses that you're interested in--you teach regularly, and the kids seem to get excited about it and you enjoy doing it but...?

AT: Yeah, and kind of consistently since I've been here--I do--I talk to--spend a little time each week talking to somebody kind of seriously about something that's important to me--having to do with the purpose of education that, you know, meaning of life or something like that. There's--I always spend a little time at that and maybe that's about --I don't know, because for one thing, I talk to Margie about this, I guess I see work, my job, as not a primary source for that.

At this point, we diverted on to the issue of writing, as a mode of expression and as an academic activity, issues of some importance in the college and the university. And, issues that, Alec and Margie found tied, intimately to other beliefs:

277

LMS: Diverting off here for just a second on another point --what I'm hearing is the kind of intellectual inquiry and thinking that you're doing is tied up in the kinds of things that we've been talking about in the last 15-20 minutes. I don't hear any kind of push or getting hooked on more formal educational research in a sense. As you were talking a little bit about your dissertation the other day, it sounded as though that was over, on that particular piece. And I don't hear any "big projects" or that kind of thing underway in any formal sense so that somehow the experience at Southwest State didn't hook you more dramatically into that line of professional activity.

AT: No.

LMS: Any speculations on it because obviously you're curious and you're wondering about a lot of things and ...?

AT: Yeah, I think I wonder about a lot of things--I investigate a lot of things--I discuss with Margie a lot of things and with some other--a few other people. I think the thing that I don't do is try to publicize my conclusions very much now. I'm fairly satisfied with them and more concerned with moving on than convincing other people of them necessarily.

PK: Is part of that tied to another theme I've heard in the last couple of days that's characterized I guess as the "more than one way"? We talked about it in the religious significance and the educational. Is it, if you were to consolidate that thinking, publish it, draw a string around it, that it would force you to kind of persuade other people that you're right and you're not comfortable with that?

AT: I hadn't thought about that--that's at least consistent, but, I guess, I feel that it's important for me to make some decisions, and for Margie and I together to make other decisions. And I--with other people I work with, we reach decisions as to what we will do but in terms of, you know, philosophical questions and a lot of things I investigate on my own, it's--yeah, I guess I almost kind of figured, well, other people ought to do that too rather than my telling them.

LMS: Writing isn't an expressive medium for you in a sense?

AT: Right.

LMS: Is it for you--you mentioned painting or cooking or building a house and so on--all of those modalities it seems are vehicles to express the things you have on your mind or ways you want to live or whatever, but either writing fiction or poetry or essays--it doesn't come out that way?

MT: Unfortunately no, it would be very nice I think, that yeah, I think both of us tend--can write well enough to survive in the academic community--that kind of thing--put things together, but I feel as if I express myself in other ways a lot--I'm happier expressing myself in other ways.

I really identify with something you said earlier--the idea that Alec responded to--when I--I like to expose people to a lot of ideas--I don't like to tell people the right way. I really feel strongly that there are very few just one right ways in anything. And I think one of the reasons I love teaching human development is that it's a life span course, and you can just put all kinds of things into it. And you know, there's so many different theories, and you don't have to come up with one right answer, and I can just expose the kids to a lot. But when I start to teach method courses it's a kind of, well, tell me what to do, well, tell me the best way, and they want some more specific answers I think and it's just a little bit more one right way, a little bit more, not that good methods courses are just one right way, but I feel much more comfortable just exposing people to ideas.

AT: Yeah, I--in terms of writing I guess I do most of my writing in terms of comments and questions on student papers. And students read a lot in these classes, and I write quite a bit back and I have--I found--it was interesting that when I encountered some of the books by--on values clarification, I found that I agreed with much of that. And so I kind of used that as a guide for some responses, but in terms of almost, yeah, it's self-expression I think, that is, a form of it. In essence pushing people to take a stand, to examine what they just said, you know, to ask them, did you mean this when you wrote that--well then, if you mean that, what are you going to do about it--that's--in terms of self-expression, I think that's important to me--to try to get people to do that kind of thing--to see that there's another point of view. Human development is such a great course for that because, you know, all kinds of perspectives--you bring people in and to see people really, you know, really realizing, my gosh, I never thought about that.

LMS: What are your hopes as outcomes of a course like that on either the kids at State College or at St. Joe's? I can see this array of alternatives you're presenting to them...

MT: Well, most of the kids that I teach are just extremely provincial. I mean, they have had very limited exposure to the world--unbelievable!

LMS: So it's just a real eye-opener?

MT: So it's an eye-opener, I think, just--most of them, I think, come into the course believe there is one right way, and not only in religion but in, you know, many things.

PK: Child rearing is an example, I would imagine, what is the correct way to raise a child? That question still is asked over and over in my classes and I imagine in yours, too?

MT: Yeah, that's really true. And just to get them to just to think about alternatives and to question the idea that there is just one right answer to everything.

AT: I guess another--if I were to have a single focus more specific than that the thing I find most prevalent in students and future teachers is sort of this kind of thing, that young kids are out to get you. And I would like to counteract that somehow. I do deal with a lot of people who are going to be teachers, and if I could--if in the classes I can get them to realize or to take the perspective, that these kids are legitimate human beings whose behavior makes a great deal of sense, and they're not basically evil, trying to get teachers. And I guess that's what I keep finding them coming in with, those assumptions, and that kind of thing--as a single...

MT: Just helping them develop empathy for people in general I think would certainly be one of my objectives.

LMS: Do they come away confused with that welter of alternatives? Are they anxious because, my God, what I once thought was the right way, may not be?

MT: Okay, maybe some of them do. Generally I get very good feedback from the kids. They've been just very--they just think it's a very interesting course, and, my God, they hadn't thought about a lot of that stuff before. And so I, you know, I don't think they--I don't think most of them come away confused.

LMS: They're not getting traumatized, that somehow you've destroyed anything that they can stand on firmly in a way?

MT: I don't think so because I don't make a point of destroying the beliefs that they come into the class with. I mean, that's definitely part of the curriculum too. Just an eye-opener. I hadn't even thought of that possibility though, that I was just confusing them.

LMS: Some instructors, and particularly with undergraduates, and I guess particularly maybe in an earlier period of time, or, particularly, with the kind of clientele that you get, you know, got images of the atheistic philosophy professor who's just cutting to ribbons what he or she might perceive as the quaint fundamentalist beliefs of a group of kids out of the country.

PK: Thirteen years of parochial school.

LMS: Yeah, and...?

MT: Okay, yeah,

LMS: I don't detect any of that hostility, obviously, in what you're saying. But sometimes, just opening up, you know, William James or John Dewey, or something, can, my God, you know, if that is so, then all of this other can't be so. and how am I going to live with that--similarly with the cross cultural thing. If you find...!?

MT: I think I make a real effort to bring a variety and that variety includes the more traditional kinds of things.

LMS: Points of view and stuff?

AT: I think that this is quite consistent with what Margie was saying last night in terms of how does one effect change. And it--Margie's beliefs are certainly very clear but in a class she would never stand up and essentially say this, you know, this obviously anybody who believes in the virgin birth is ridiculous, because this couldn't have happened, and here and so on--she would use the same amount of time to have, you know, four speakers, one advocating the validity of the virgin birth and three other alternatives. And then kind of require the students to discuss them or (laughter) well, you know, you got sprung full blown from a flowing spring that's another--see--that's a view from Iraq, in fact, which was...

MT: In human development, I--this isn't a psych course by the way, this is taught in the home economics department, and I think home ec tends to be a little bit the traditional home economics. It is more an applied kind of field, and so we relate a lot of this to real life, and I bring in a lot of speakers, etc. And just to give you, like an idea of the variety, like I always--when we're talking about adolescence and some of the problems connected with that, and talk about teenage pregnancies, that kind of thing, or bring in a speaker from Birthright. I don't know if you're familiar with that, but very, very pro-life, and it's right in tune exactly with these kids' belief system. And I have a few in the class that may question this but most of them go along with this set of beliefs. When we talk about sexuality, and the development of one's sexuality, I always bring in someone from the gay community and that's a real eye-opener. I guess what I'm trying to say is, I just bring in all kinds of points of view, and some of them probably directly support what the kids already believe and some are really different.

AT: The other thing I think is that some of the--I know in talking about the speakers and hearing you talk about them, you've found some people who, for instance the one person I remember who talked about natural--whatever the--natural family planning--in which the one speaker was, you know, very positive in terms of human sexuality and sexual expression and so on. And that, in essence, was proposing natural planning as a way to enhance one's sexual life and pointed out how this really was a plus and all that. Now, whether that's true or not, I don't know, but that's the kind of speaker that Margie would bring in who would, yeah, she's --this speaker is consistent with the kids in terms of birth control, but very inconsistent with their concept of sexuality, because most of them have also, along with this, essentially seen sexuality as something to be hidden and suppressed. And here's a person who's advocating being sexual but not using artificial means which would stop them cold. See, so that kind of thing...

LMS: So there's a bit of a jar in it--fine along the way and all of a sudden--pow!

AT: Yeah, it's kind of subversive. Yeah, so you start out with a speaker that everybody knows they're going to agree with. It's a little bit like a speaker that I've seen and used in human relations classes on homosexuality. The student always knew that this person was going to be talking about sexuality, and pretty well assumed he was going to be gay and this fellow would come in, and he's a foreign minister, and he's spent the first part of the session talking about human sexuality, he never mentions gay people. He talks about elderly people and sex research and so on and then takes a break and inevitably the people are talking to him. They pretty well conclude--no, I don't think he is, this is really good, he really makes a lot of sense, and then during the second half, all of a sudden, and he does this with a story in which only after it's over do you realize he's just told you that he is gay. And it really puts people in a--you know, that kind of dissonant sort of thing. But I think, as I said, it's consistent with Margie talking about effecting change and so on.

MT: We spent some time on that...

LMS: Well, again, it seems to me it captures--it took off partly from that question I raised on writing as an expressive mode, and as I hear you talk, the expressiveness of an intellectual sort comes out both in your teaching and the kinds of people you meet in the teaching, the kinds of kids who come into the situation, and, you know, it has a verve and excitement to it as you talk about it, even though the particular instance we wandered off on was the family life or--that kind of thing.

PK: Do you project in the future a change in that? Could you see in ten years that perhaps either of you would go on the island and write the great American something, great American philosophical piece? In other words, do you feel that you are at the point where you wish to be and that your continued quest would be along a similar line? Or are you, do you feel that you're incubating and you're still thinking and pulling together of something like your own personal philosophy, and that at some time you might want to tie this together into some more visible product? Do you have any feeling at all as to which of those two tracks you might be on?

MT: Yeah,

AT: Yeah, I see myself on--I guess the first one--I--the thing that I would most like to do is to experience more things. And I guess, in essence, describing my experiences to other people detracts from experiencing and...

PK: Just to take a devil's advocate role for a moment. Could some argue, I wouldn't, but could one argue that that's being unfair, that if others pursued that same point of view, you would have nothing to read and far less to experience, is that self-centered?

AT: No, and I, yeah, I think that would be fine. I wouldn't mind not reading because what that would mean, if that would happen, that there's be much less emphasis on the rat race, that I could simply spend more time talking to people, and I think I would prefer to do that than to read.

PK: So you wouldn't see that as an irreparable loss if others were to pursue your...?

AT: No, I wouldn't. No, I think, then, it would be more like situations, some villages that we spent some time in in Crete, people weren't writing.

LMS: I get the feeling though you'd have to--you'd want the travel to still be there, because the talk around State College might get a little thin with that German Catholic majority out there.

AT: Well, of course, I don't think any of those things would continue if in fact, most people were spending most of their time experiencing other people and places--then you wouldn't have a State College.

PK: But, then, do you have in fact, a fair corner on the one right way?

AT: Sure, as long as some people want to spend their time and do spend their time being absolute fundamentalists I can spend my time experiencing other things.

MT: I guess how I feel is, I don't see myself as writing in the future, I don't see that as a vehicle. I see myself as, again, I'm very interested in the house that we're going to construct, I want the house to be harmonious with the environment, I want to do some--I want to express myself through photography, I want to do some weaving, oh, I could go on and on--I've done a little bit of ceramics in the past, I would like to do maybe some pottery, I'd like to--I really feel the need to express myself and I really feel that strongly to express myself in some of the visual arts and just the setting up of an environment, the house, and I feel that need but not writing.

AT: And we have some friends around State College who I think a lot of their self-expression is in music, and we both like music. And I think if I would think of the ideal community it would be people who devoted a lot of time to doing what they felt was most significant for them, and then others of us could sort of share in part of that.

PK: Assuming that there would be a diversity of ways in which people would wish to express themselves?

AT: Yeah, and see--that's exactly what I'm convinced--given any kind of freedom and encouragement, that's what happens to people. I believe there are some genetic or whatever, kinds of differences, which are--I don't know what all they are, but I think given encouragement and opportunity some people will do more musically, some people...

LMS: Sing songs, some will read.

AT: Some will dance, some will build and so on...

PK: And some will tape record those who do?

AT: That's right and some will sort of reflect on what's happening, and comment and point out things that are absurd, you know, that--all of those things are things that I think make...

MT: And I think in terms of like the environment and things that we enjoy in this environment, State College is limiting in many ways, but we just really like sunrises and sunsets and watching carrots grow, and, you know, things like that--just--there are so many things to enjoy anywhere probably.

LMS: By way of one last comment before thanking you and everything, is there anything that we ought to know if we're to understand Kensington and the experience of the Thurmans, or the Thurmans and the Kensington experience that somehow we haven't touched upon? We've, you know, covered an awful lot of kinds of things, it seems to me to weave interesting patterns and stuff but nothing came to mind last night that, my God, we should have talked about X or we should have talked about Y?

MT: No, I don't think so--I just think again, just saying again it was just a very, very positive experience, a growing experience.

AT: Yeah, as we think in our past, there are certain points in times that we generally think of as negative, some as neutral, and positive, but Milford was a very positive experience and I would say the metropolitan community, as the broader because it wasn't just Kensington, we really did get into ragtime music there, and, I mean, that was a thing that I still have a real appreciation for. That, and I--very frequently in conversations or occasionally in a discussion in a class--some bit of information having to do with ragtime music and ragtime composers I include that and bring that up.

## 4.5 Conclusion

One of the first reactions to our extended case might well be its unusualness and its rarity in the world more generally. In part, our response is simple. One of the fundamental purposes of field study research is to create and present images, models, and metaphors grounded in the realities of a single life, dyad, small group, or organization. It is not to argue that the patterns are prevalent everywhere (although some patterns are), nor that they should be (although some contain strong value components which we accept).

Our work here began as an effort to look at careers of educational innovators. The striking gender differences, which resemble American society in general, also had some striking differences and unusual aspects, which we stumbled into. Our brief and tentative exploration of the feminist literature left us chastened by the dramatic accounts of difficulties from the Tillie Olsen's and the Virginia Woolf's. We were struck also by the second stage view of Betty Friedan and the degree to which the woman's problem was a "person problem." Before we were immersed in that literature, one of our life histories, Alec Thurman's, had broadened out and intertwined with that of his wife Margie, who had had involvement at Kensington "only as a parent" and "only as a part time research assistant" to Leslie Roberts. Their story had seemed so important at the time we did the interview; now a year or two later we feel we have a perspective on it.

Perhaps our most significant generalization is the fulfillment of our hunch on life histories. If one doesn't know when and where an innovation fits in the life history of the individuals who are participating in the innovation, one has limited understanding of the dynamics of the process of schooling. The individual's perspective, that is his or her definition of the situation, depends on a complicated belief structure or system, which, in turn, arises from their accumulated life experiences. Much of the remainder of this monograph will explore these issues.

More particularly, our conversation with Alec and Margie left us with a number of impressions. One of the most significant of these reactions is caught in a story Theodor Reik attributes to Freud:

> "I can only tell you of my personal experience," he said. "When making a decision of minor importance, I have always found it advantageous to consider all the pros and cons. In vital matters, however, such as the choice of a mate or a profession, the decision should come from the unconscious, from somewhere within ourselves. In the important decisions of our personal life, we should be governed, I think, by the deep inner needs of our nature." (1948, p. vii)

In some sense Alec's career decisions, and more generally his decisions with his wife Margie, while rational at the moment and in terms of surface criteria, had a relationship with his/their more fundamental personality needs and structure. Figure 25 broadens this view and also ties the long interview back into our career analysis earlier in this report. Further, as it began, the case presents an important image of careers, families, and second stage resolutions. It enhances the variety available for those discussions.

Insert Figure 25 about here

It seems fitting to note and emphasize that it is only one joint life style, not the "one right way" as they might say. Further, our perspective on it is only one. Hopefully we have presented enough detail that other readers might view it, think about it, and reconstrue it, on the way to thinking about their own careers and lives. Much of what we will have to say appears in the next section, so we make one brief but general concluding point or two.

287

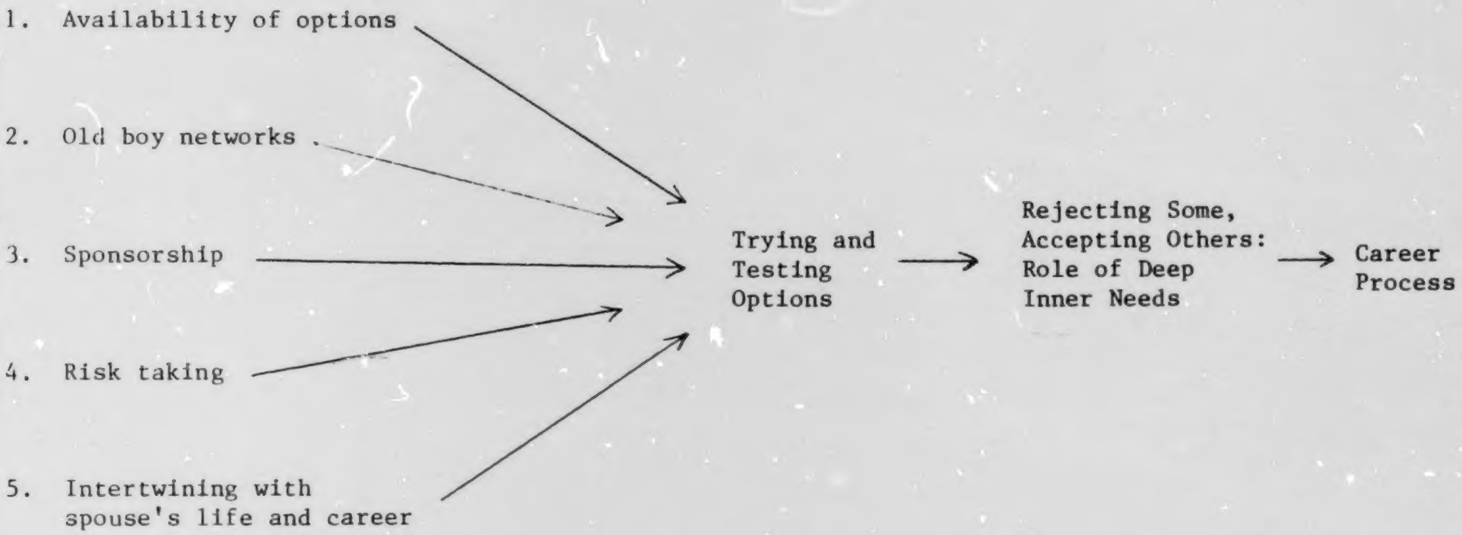
1. Availability of options
2. Old boy networks
3. Sponsorship
4. Risk taking
5. Intertwining with spouse's life and career
Trying and Testing Options
Rejecting Some, Accepting Others: Role of Deep Inner Needs
Career Process

Figure 25: Aspects of Careers of Educational Innovators: Alec's Career

Interpretation in case study research, the development of meanings, is not a well settled issue. At one level our perspective now is quite straight forward. We believe the participants should have their say. Our long account of Alec and Margie Thurman, mostly presented in their words, is our attempt to do that. In another of the interviews, one of the participants, Dan Hun, who had been pursuing case study research styles raised a comment which captures the same point. It illustrates also the shift in our own perspective. He's talking about the original Office of Education report on Kensington:

> Dan Hun: I've used the study in my own work in the field of curriculum where there was a sizeable chunk of very good material about how a curriculum can become actualized in a setting. That is, that you have conceptions of curriculum as the intentions of the teachers and then the actual curriculum or the enactive curriculum, some of the terms that maybe John Goodlad uses to differentiate between the intended and the perceived and then the enacted, or some other terms that people use. I've used that just in writing papers, you know, and, in fact, I still have the study somewhere. I use it as a kind of a reference--not only as some good examples, but I use it as some bad examples of case studies, not as that, but as having shortcomings and in terms of how the subjectives of participants don't always come clearly through and that may be something that we could look at.
>
> LMS: Talk a little bit more about that. You mean the individual participants in the...?
>
> DH: That one of the shortcomings that I felt in the way in which individuals were allowed to maybe speak in their own voice--in that their own voice may have been filtered. I felt, for example, I felt that my voice was not as present, but that was not--I am not saying anything negative here--I am saying that in case studies and in the anthropological sense, that the actors sometimes get more of their voice into the account. And I think the observers like Paul and Pat tended to be more descriptive of an episode, and then with the description there that was not a critical cross reference, when you were doing this did you mean this?, kind of going back.

LMS: You saw the observers' view of it but not necessarily the participants--side by side?

DH: Right.

In the sense of his comment, throughout this monograph, we have tried to let the participants speak for themselves. The interview with Alec and Margie Thurman is the most extended instance of this.

Secondly, in our view of case study research, the readers should have enough data to have "their say" about the meaning of the case, their interpretations as it were. Once again we believe that the flow of our interview, from an early on open ended stance to a conversational give and take, and finally to an involved discussion as we tried to pull out Alec and Margie's perspective should be helpful. Our grappling, at the moment, with the ideas and the affect is perhaps an object lesson in how that might be done.

But thirdly, we, as researchers, want to have our say as well. And this is a more reflected upon, distant, and integrative perspective as other individuals in the group come on the stage, and enter, or re-enter the scene and hence into the interpretation. Our attempt to come to grips with all that, for us, falls under the rubric "The Natural History of Belief Systems," the next long section of our report. In effect, this exemplifies our concern for the importance of dialogue within education, a dialogue which never really ends, but which occasionally pauses and becomes formalized a bit more into a report.

# 5. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF BELIEF SYSTEMS

## 5.1 Overview

### 5.11 The Conception

Our account of the careers of the innovative educators seems, in retrospect, to have a simple straight forward quality. Even though we rely heavily on the words of the participants, the perspective tends to be a more behavioral, outside view of where they have gone and what they have done. The organization of this section, the natural history of belief systems, has been more troubled. Early on, we were impressed by themes and patterns which we labeled variously: old reformers never die, educational reform as secular religion, origins of educational ideology. Finally, as we struggled, reading and rereading the interviews, reviewing our interpretive asides and summary observations and interpretations, and meeting, talking, and debating with ourselves over several years now, we came to the realization that one way to phrase what we were grappling with was "the natural history of belief systems." In a slightly more restricted sense it is the life history of systems of belief regarding educational innovation and reform, among a special group of educational innovators, those who staffed the Kensington School, and the leadership positions, in the Milford Schools in 1964-65.

Our conception of belief draws heavily on Rokeach (1960, 1964, 1965), Trueblood (1942), and Myrdal (1944). As Rokeach (1960, p. 31) notes, the most general and yet most particular set of illustrations is Trueblood's:

> We have beliefs about history, beliefs about the structure of material aggregates, beliefs about the future, beliefs about God, beliefs about what is beautiful or what we ought to do. Most of these beliefs we state categorically. We say, "Columbus landed in the West Indies," "Water is composed of hydrogen and oxygen," "Rain is falling today," "There will be a snowstorm tomorrow," "God knows each individual," "Greek temples are more beautiful than Egyptian temples," "I ought to work rather than play tennis today." Each of these statements, similar to thousands we make every day, is elliptical in that the preliminary statement is omitted. We might reasonably preface each of these propositions by the words, "I believe," or "There seems to be good evidence that." Every proposition becomes in fact a judgment, and man is a creature greatly concerned with his own judgments. We take our judgments seriously and, foolish as we are, we are deeply interested in the correctness of our judgments. (1942, p. 24)

In a later volume, Rokeach (1968) defines belief this way:

> ...A belief is any simple proposition, conscious or unconscious, inferred from what a person says or does, capable of being preceded by the phrase "I believe that...." The content of a belief may describe the object of belief as true or false, correct or incorrect; evaluate it as good or bad; or advocate a certain course of action or a certain state of existence as desirable or undesirable. The first kind of belief may be called *descriptive* or *existential belief* (I believe that the sun rises in the east); the second kind of belief may be called an *evaluative belief* (I believe this ice cream is good); the third kind may be called a *prescriptive* or *exhortatory belief* (I believe it is desirable that children should obey their parents). (1968, p. 113)

When the totality of one's beliefs are considered in their content and structure one has a belief system:

> The *belief system* is conceived to represent all the beliefs, sets, expectancies, or hypotheses, conscious and unconscious, that a person at a given time accepts as true of the world he lives in. (Rokeach, 1960, p. 33)

Along the way, toward the end of our construing we began to use the phrase "the natural history of belief systems." That caught very well some of the early antecedents that seemed influential in the development of the belief systems of the individuals, long before they seemed to be making conscious decisions about their lives. Further it connotes how "basic" some of the processes seems to be. But, the root metaphor, to use Pepper's (1942) label, tends to set an organic or organismic image as context, and that takes us in directions alien to our more contextualist paradigm. The natural history of belief systems in life histories connotes more centrally, "the person-ness" involved in any belief system. We do not want the abstractions and conceptualizations to move too free of the people and their lives. The attachment of "history" to the conception is deliberate. It suggests a time, process, longitudinal or dynamic dimension to the analysis. This has become fundamental to our view of educational and social science theory and practice in general and to the Kensington Revisited project in particular.[12]

Another important linkage in our move toward a final outline was our original perception of the Kensington faculty as "true believers." In retrospect it seems a simple step in the unpacking of that term to get to "belief systems in general" and a special form of belief system that might be called "true belief" and the nature of other personality dispositions involved with individuals who are true believers. Along the way, for us, as non philosophers, that was a difficult journey.

The selection of "belief systems" as the central label vied with formal doctrine, schema, ideology, perspectives, norms, point of view, cognitions, ideas, and conceptions. Beliefs seems a more generic term regarding an individual's view of the world. For us it encompasses, straddles a number of dichotomies made popular by the positivist paradigm. For instance, we do not want to split so dramatically a conceptual and an observational language, nor do we want value statements separated sharply from "scientific" discourse. Finally beliefs seem, at first glance less reducible to behavioral and biological terms. They belong more to human beings who have grown up in a social cultural context and who continue to act in that context.

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[12] See for example the other Volumes in the final report and several published pieces e.g. longitudinal nested systems (Smith, Prunty, and Dwyer, 1981) and ethnography and history (Smith, 1982).

### 5.12 Current Beliefs

The "new elementary education" of Kensington was a set of beliefs regarding the development of children's potential, "fully functioning Freddie," of children's choice and self determination, of democratic relationships, of intellectual proceses, of individualization, of team teach, of open education, and of innovation. In Figure 26 we present the complex nature of that set of beliefs. For an earlier account see Smith and Keith's discussion of formal doctrine (1971, pp. 21-53)

Insert Figure 26 About Here

As we analyzed the long interview protocols several clusters of beliefs seemed to capture most of the individuals. The purists remain committed to both ends and means of the new elementary education. Many are trying to actualize Kensington in settings distant in time, place, program, and kind of student. The pragmatists remain committed to the goals but see the means in need of alteration. Finally, a few might be labeled critical appraisers. They cited specific problems, cutting

active learning
creative
experimental
freedom
independent learners
individualized instruction
innovative
learning how to learn
liberal attitude toward discipline
open
participative
project methods
teaming, cooperative teaching
unit method
unstructured

Figure 26: Varied Labels for Kensington's "New Elementary Education"

across means and ends which clouded an otherwise positive personal experience. They were generally friendly critics. One or two turned out to be quite critical of the experience per se but usually on grounds of interpersonal staff relationships--"said one thing to your face and something else behind your back." The belief in the ideology remained.

The Purists remained committed to the ideals of the earlier period and in fact, were working in various ways and at varying levels to achieve those very same goals which captured their attention 15 years ago. Several commented on the conservative trend in American education and feared the return of undue structure and unnecessary restraints on the lives of learners. The amazing continuity of educational beliefs held by the dispersed faculty seemed all the more striking since few contacts remained between and among them nor did the individuals maintain professional contacts with educational movements which may have nurtured their belief structures. Their original beliefs as we will argue in more detail shortly, seemed to emerge from early home and community influences without benefit of formal training and these beliefs were therefore immune from the momentary fads and shifts in thinking of educational leaders or professional journals. We examine now some of the interview data which support this conclusion:

> Alec T.: ...I then heard Eugene talk about Kensington and then he said if there were people interested he'd like to meet with them and I met with him and talked with him and ended up going to Milford and I was--you know--his descriptions of the school really excited me--I'm still very committed to that kind of school--I really--you know that part of--that aspect of my, I'm not sure if you'd say, values and so on have been very constant.

Not only was he verbally committed to his original convictions but his present behavior in a university teacher education program reflected this strong commitment to the earlier beliefs:

> AT: I like that kind of program very much, I had a very good experience in terms of my personal benefit and in terms of feeling that I had an impact on students because I find teaching undergraduate students that it takes them almost a quarter before they become self-directing in any way. Now that--it's the same kind of thing that I felt at Kensington, students who had attended school for four years took longer to start moving in Kensington than kids who had never attended school, you know, that kind of thing. But in this program the college students would come in and sense they were going to be with us for five or six quarters and it really didn't matter if they didn't do anything first quarter so we had for this--for the program--we said well, to be an effective teacher here are ten very broad goals you should be able to plan lessons, you should be able to state your philosophy of education, you know, you have to set your own goals and for the first quarter. People flounder a lot and people get angry and they say it's not fair, you know, what we should not do and if you don't tell us that's not fair, you know, and that kind of thing.
>
> Obs: Could you make any parallels with Kensington on that?
>
> AT: Oh yeah, yeah, it was very--a very similar siguation really--but then by the second quarter these college students just take off and then they really make some progress.

The ensuing years apparently added experiential support and documentation but the ideological perspective was well established at Kensington:

> Obs: I'm struck Alec, you know, we talked about the last 15 years in the life of Dr. Thurman. On the one hand we've talked about life style changes which seem rather remarkable and on the other side the kind of philosophical perspective which, while you've elaborated and deepened, you seem to be very committed ideologically at the college level to where you were then.
>
> AT: Yeah, I agree, yeah, I really think so and I think at the time I was at Kensington I couldn't have given much support for those beliefs. While I was at Southwest University I

> worked on the really, you know, that was--in fact, one of my professors was a fellow who was a radical behaviorist, still is I'm sure, he had also been a minister and in fact, one of the things he said that made me start thinking the most was--it was one of my second classes at Southwest University and it turned out that in the group of 15 people there were five or six of us who had been in the ministry and now we were all in psychology and I said, isn't it strange and he said no, we're all trying to control people. That was the point at which I really didn't think I was committed that much to controlling people's behavior in detail but anyway, that started me thinking about that. And I spent a lot of time with him and the question he--the question that he would always put to me, he said, "Well, why do people act?", "Why do people behave?", and so I started thinking a whole lot about motivation and all that kind of thing and so as I said, I think I have developed a much sounder theoretical base for what I do but I think I really am pretty consistent on that.

The foregoing illustration represents that sub-group of staff members most ideologically constant over the 15 year span. Several threads seemed to characterize these group members whom we have dubbed Purists. First, there was a strong experiential flavor to this sub-group as they spoke about their origins. Highly analytical, but also highly individualistic, these individuals held strong but not dogmatic views regarding the way children learn. The views were shaped far more by observation of life experience than by the readings and teachings of others. Their own significant life events or significant people seemed to flow rather randomly over the landscape and had not developed in the orderly, systematic manner prescribed by some curriculum experts and teacher educators. They seemed to have stumbled on to profound truths rather than to have been led up to them and often acquired their most useful insights in spite of rather than because of their mentors. It is striking, for example, that Alec strengthened his already firm belief in education which was low in control and coercion by reacting to a radical behaviorist in a college classroom. Clearly, the professor wished to impress upon the group that control is both unavoidable and necessary for learning but just as clearly Alec drew the opposite conclusion: Control may be exceedingly common but it is not necessary and he was going to work to avoid it wherever possible. It is not surprising that educators who have been most influenced by random influences or even counter-influences would also place little emphasis upon sharing content and values in didactic, systematic, organized patterns in their own teaching.

The small group of Purists appeared to have more closely internalized the norms of the original Kensington than did their peers. These fiercely independent spirits were determined that the experience of 15 years ago should not be judged as a failure. The attempt to implement the values of Kensington had been extremely important to them personally and they derived much satisfaction from having made the effort. The following passage captures the flavor and fire of one member, Eugene Shelby, as he recalled the excitement of Kensington:

> Eugene S.: Yesterday I was telling some about my ups and downs and periods of depression, about mountain top experience and whatever, and my motivation and the times that I wasn't motivated and times when I was more motivated than other times. And I just wanted to comment that very clearly that Kensington was a mountain top peak type of experience for me. And I suspect maybe for others. As I look back I still view it as the highlight of my life, as well as my professional career. I don't think there is much doubt about that. I do not talk about it much now, I rarely do. First, people, you know, don't want to hear about it. I have to, you know, just contain myself, but you know, I think that needs to be very clear and freely stated to you that I did view it that way. But I guess the thing that I wanted to bring up here is that I think that had an effect on me, you know, once you have been on a mountain top, you know, how in the world do you ever want to go there again. Well, I don't know how to say this, but...
>
> Obs: What do you do for an encore?

ES: Yeah

Obs: When you see Paree, how do you go back to the farm.

ES: Like some of my colleagues here think, boy I must really be chomping at the bit to see if I can be the elementary director here, because that would be a promotion for me. I guess what I am saying is that I'm not interested in promotions, you know. I tasted success, so I know I'm not going to have to prove myself to myself, and I think that is good in a respect, but in another way it has taken away a part of the drive that I think professionals generally have, and I think that's maybe unfortunate. I did not go into Kensington to prove myself, that I was aware of. As I mentioned yesterday I did not view it as a personal stepping stone or as, you know, I did it because I believed in it, but at the same time I was sure that there was the drive that comes when you are wanting to achieve, and I still want to achieve in a sense, but I have lost the ambition that I may have had more so than you know, and I just wanted to comment on that.

Obs: Okay. Do you want to talk a little bit about the nature of the mountain top experience? You know, what it feels like, what it means as you look back on it?

ES: Well, I don't know too much how to describe...I was working with a guy here that I had helped recruit, who was the top person in his field, and you know, really a wonderful person, and capable professional and he commented to me one time, and said, you know, my work is my hobby. You know that there has been a complete coming together of what it is that I am really motivated to do, and what my job expects me to do. And you know, that is really a wonderful thing. That is a luxury that probably few people ever experience. Yet I guess that is part of what I'm saying in terms of a mountain top experience, is that you like what you are doing, and then there is the feeling of accomplishment, the feeling of excitement, and there are certainly a lot of problems and frustrations, you are well aware of that, so you know, as hard as that was and as trying as it was in so many ways, how can you look back on it as a mountain top experience. I guess is had to be the excitement, involvement, you know, doing what it is you believe in.

The Pragmatists were a sizeable group of perhaps one third of the staff shared a less pronounced commitment to the original Kensington ideals, at least as originally implemented. While adamantly insisting on the excitement and quality of the experience and arguing the continued importance of the goals of Kensington, this group felt the means to achieve those ends had been hastily conceived or even naive. The "too much--too fast" syndrome seemed to summarize how this group felt about the effort. Some referred to "not bringing the parents along" or being "too far ahead of the times" but clearly the commitment to the original goals seemed strong. We cite one concrete example, Tom Mack:

> Tom M.: A case of too much all at once. I will give you a good example. If you are trying to change a classroom teacher for instance from a book teacher to one who uses a unit method and individualizes instruction and so on and so forth, and they have never had that experience in this, there are a lot of those teachers, and most of them haven't had a Kensington, alright go ahead and let them teach from the textbook method, okay, until they have trained in maybe eight of the kids in how to do a research paper or how to do whatever it is they are wanting them to do, and then to take those eight kids and you make maybe four more groups, and you train those, and you keep doing that, but you have to train the children in the process that you are going to follow first. And then if you do that they become a pretty good teacher of, you know, of a unit type of method. I think there was too much of relying on program materials in Kensington. Some children can't take program material without a great deal of training, at least not the unsophisticated kind of material we used there.

The same staff member made explicit reference to the community awareness:

> Obs: You mentioned that it (Kensington) was put down in the wrong place.
>
> TM: Yeah, wrong place and I, I don't think there was enough preparation work done with the community, that is my own opinion. Most of those people as I saw it when I was at Kensington, were mobile upward, most of them were middle class people or upper lower class people. Is that kind of the way you...
>
> Obs: Fits right to a T, yeah.
>
> TM: And being from that background their view of education was something much more traditional than Kensington was. You know, a little kid has a teacher, and if he does wrong you

> paddle his behind, and you give him assignments, and what traditionally to people 15 to 20 years ago thought about education, and I do think there was, I understand there was some attempts at communicating to have some parent meetings and so on and so forth, but not very many.

While questioning the strategy and the means, this staff member seemed reticient to admit a changed perspective and restated a commitment to the individualization of instruction which was so central to the early Kensington:

> Obs: I think we are close to running out of time. I have one quick question, if I could, and I may know the answer, but I would like to hear you comment on it, Tom. I have a feeling that in terms of your own philosophy and views on education, you probably were there before Kensington and many of those ideas are still very much there, as you have probably had a pretty steady view throughout. But is that in fact true or have you shifted a lot?
>
> TM: The Kensington experience made me see the need for structure to a much higher degree that I had at Kensington. Structure not so much as to telling teachers what to do, but of the process of how they do it that is to be followed in doing it, and then seeing that they do it.
>
> Obs: So it was more a plan to bring it about, but you haven't really changed your views basically on how children were and how they ought to be taught?
>
> TM: I don't think so, I don't think so. You know, kids don't all learn the same way. And that is the reason I was interested in going, one reason I was interested in going to Kensington.

While the basic commitment to outcomes may have remained reasonably stable the following passage indicated rather clearly that the strategies for achieving those goals would have to be sharply different the second time around:

> Obs: Do you ever have a feeling that you would like to have that go again from the start, or are you feeling that you can accomplish this more on the run, sort of as the school was in process? Have you ever wanted to start one from ground floor?

> TM: I have often said this about Kensington. Before I went there I always wanted to be a part of that thing, where you hand pick the people that came in and so on and so forth. I don't want to do that again. You know, I think people have to grow into that kind of thing, and have to be reactive to the students, have to be reactive to the community and so, I guess what I am saying is that education is part and parcel of everyone of these people's lives out here, and damn it, they are going to have a hand in it one way or the other, and you are not going to come in and impose something on them.

The Pragmatists reflect the stress of change and continuity which marks the impact of time and life experience on educational ideology and beliefs. Most members of this sub-set were willing to acknowledge a certain naivete regarding strategies or means for implementing the goals of Kensington but were quite reluctant to budge from their basic beliefs regarding educational outcomes.

Not all participants, the "Critical Appraisers," viewed the Kensington experience as either a total success or even that the conception was totally sound. It should be stressed that even though this final group raised criticisms they were quick to remind us that the overall experience had been an extremely positive one and one they would always cherish. They wanted us to know their role was one of "friendly critic" and they certainly did not want to leave the impression that they were critical of the experience.

Several participants commented regarding the lack of a set curriculum and the attendant problems of scope and sequence raised by the necessity of creating, denovo, a curriculum from scratch and ditto paper:

> Obs: Lou had asked the question before about things you'd do again or not do again. What about other pieces--the way in

> which the school was split into three segments or the leaderless groups or--as far as curriculum issues, sort of turning that over to faculty to resolve. Are there any of those pieces that you want to react to?
>
> Dan H.: Oh, I think there were many, many errors in conception about--you know, you are the curriculum, that you invented, that things such as what should be taught, studied, and learned are all inventable or immediate inventions that these have not been somehow addressed. I think that was a grave mistake.
>
> Obs: How would you work at that?
>
> DH: I think that, prior to, the opening of the school, you as Curriculum Director and Administrator and Principal know that there are givens within the system. God damn it! Anyone who goes to school has to learn those facts, you know, and the same with spelling, reading, something about our written language, that there are givens that you just don't mess with--they're too imbedded in the culture, to be--to be messed with--to be challenged as though you reinvent them.

A similar concern about the lack of structure and lack of a gradual development of curriculum content was expressed by Chris H., a primary teacher:

> Chris H.: I think it is cruel to kids not to have some sense of what, you know, of a "building up" process in some of the Basic Skill areas--Math, The Language Skills, and Reading. That would have bothered me, I don't know if that would have bothered me at that point in Kensington, but certainly with the experience that I've had since then and seeing my own children grow.
>
> Obs: That was the question that I was going to ask--were those insights there or have they been tempered by the 15 years since?
>
> CH: For me, I think tempered by the 15 years since. In fact, I've been thinking here that I don't remember us ever sitting down and really--of course now, I wasn't the full-fledged team member, so I didn't always meet with them in that kind of thing, but I don't remember ever saying, "Okay, are we sure we are teaching beginning consonants and ending consonants and vowels and blends, you know, have you checked this with Joey Smooey over here?" I mean, I don't really remember that kind of, you know, easing through the curriculum. I do remember us being concerned that they were reading and that they were writing and different, you know...

In addition to those whose views have changed since the original Kensington there was a voice or two who felt the experience had been a mixed blessing; benefitting some children and perhaps harming others. The view may have been held originally and not voiced or the ensuing years may have caused a rebirth of traditional ideology brought about through fifteen years of retrospective thought. Another primary teacher, Wanda E., recalled:

> Wanda E.: Every morning we went to the mimeograph and we ran off the day's work which we prepared, of course, the evening before. And we stayed at the building until six o'clock often, and we had to have meetings of the team in order to coordinate our work and to sort of plan together time wise and material wise. I never worked so hard in my life and I felt that I didn't accomplish as much with the children as the amount of work indicated.
>
> Obs: It's you're working hard and getting less done in one sense.
>
> WE: Right. Exactly. The later comment that I heard from students who actually attended the school was that it was the best year of their lives.
>
> Obs: The first year?
>
> WE: Yes, surprisingly. These were bright students given to dramatic and extra art talent who appreciated the opportunity to explore and the freedom from the academic daily regimen and they loved it. From that extreme to other parents who were also teachers at other schools who said it was a wasted year in the time of their children's lives.
>
> Obs: Yeah. Do you have any feeling yourself as to where you'd be on that continuum from the best to the worst?
>
> WE: I thought there was some good in it but I thought it didn't work with the type of children, I don't mean that the children were not as smart, but I think the children had to be extremely bright to profit by a situation like that. Extremely bright and motivated at home to seek to improve and these children were not.
>
> Obs: The majority in that sense.

> WE: Yes. And they had quite a large turnover. New students coming in all the time dumped into this confused situation that they had never seen before in their lives and some, of course, took advantage of the apparent freedom.
>
> Obs: You hesitate, is there another image that's going through your mind there or...?
>
> WE: I think the fact that the parents were so disgruntled after we were in the new building it became a task to present an image to the parents of being efficient and assuring the parents that the children were learning. This disturbed me.
>
> Obs: Yeah.
>
> WE: Because that was my main concern because, golly, if these don't learn to read this year, it'll be my fault.
>
> Obs: Well, did you have real doubts about children that you were directly responsible for and working with?
>
> WE: I certainly did. Some of them were not capable and would have done badly anywhere. And some were bright and would have learned anywhere. We kept rearranging our schedule, our team. It seemed it didn't go two weeks in a row with the same pattern and I don't believe that that is conducive to good learning either for children or for teachers. This continual change. We were instructed to be, above all else, to be innovative. That was the goal of Mr. Shelby--to try out new things and that is not conducive to good learning. I guess I had been brought up in a traditional school and I knew the value of drills and the value of grammar and learning in an orderly process and I was upset time and again by not seeing this orderly process. I tried to be innovative in that I used many ideas that I could latch on to no matter what to get them and I believe I was innovative, but I wasn't happy with that...

Another teacher, Irma Hall, felt that success and failure were divided chronologically, first year versus later:

> Irma H.: Well, the first year was quite traumatic to me. As you noted I think in the volume that you did that one. I was very humbled I think when Eugene had asked me to go and he was at Marquette--was my Principal there.
>
> Obs: So you had taught with him for that one year I guess?
>
> IH: Yes, and, uh, so I felt like I could handle it. But I didn't realize how traditional I was at first. And the

> faculty itself was quite unusual to say the least. And, uh, well, of course you were there all the time. You know the terrible time we had getting started. So I think the first year was rather bad. It's the first time I ever thought I didn't like teaching, and if I could have turned to anything else, I would have.
>
> Obs: (laughs) Sometime along the way there.
>
> IH: However, the second year I think I really enjoyed it. I got my feet on the ground a little more and the way became a little less experimental, I guess it was. But I enjoyed it so much. The openness of the building. I really enjoyed that. And being able to plan and work with other teachers. So I liked that.

This same staff member commented later in the interview:

> IH: I will say this, Lou, that was the most rewarding of all my teaching....I had to be jolted a great deal...So I think I changed more than everyone else.

The Critical Appraisers, while reasonably positive, had their reservations. The experience had been better for some children than others, or better later than earlier, or had some components which were stronger than others.

The belief systems of the staff, while undergoing some degree of change, remained remarkably intact. A change here, a modification there, more preparation time, more parent involvement, a few options for students with a greater need for structure and the basic model was deemed to fly again. The origin of belief structures will be examined in a later section as we look at several life histories with an eye toward unravelling the threads which wove the fabric of the Kensington cloth.

## 5.13 The Thread of True Belief

The strong commitment and zeal of the staff has been well documented in the original study. The true belief in the "new elementary education" (Smith and Keith, 1971, p.105) was strong and manifested itself in extraordinary work loads. In this sense, at Kensington there was initially little of the "alienation" or meaninglessness frequently attributed to many kinds of settings of work. Work "beyond the call of duty" was the norm.

In our earlier analysis of "true believers" we argued with the Hoffer position that "discontent" fueled the reform movements. We thought then:

> In the judgment of our case, his account under emphasizes the positive attraction of healthy people trying to make a better world. (Smith and Keith, 1971, p. 115)

In response to the probe "What does the experience mean to you as you reflect back...?", Meg Adrian commented:

> I think it was definitely more than those two years of my career or my life. I think it was the kind of experience that a person wouldn't have very often in which the group that worked together were committed to certain goals and ideals. And when working together there's a feeling that's very important and that develops at that time and it's something very special and I think it affected me in many ways.

This kind of idealism mixed with a more traditional point of view about social roles:

> I think really, I think I was a little inhibited. I think I felt that I was more traditionally inclined than most of the people at Kensington.

And it mixed with an image how rural, southern girls should act. In her team of three:

> I guess each of us was waiting for the other to take charge. I was waiting for Dan because he was the man, I guess, and this is more or less my background--that the man assumes the predominant role...

And, also, the new experience seemed important. Meg talked of her coming to the Milford School District with Jean Emerson:

> Obs: Were the two of you specifically hired to go into Kensington when it opened?
>
> Meg A.: Not specifically, but we both had that in mind when we went there...we had heard about it and it seemed interesting to us...So we both went there with it in the back of our minds.

In this introduction, the general conception we have been using is belief system, an interrelated set of ideas. The specific content of the beliefs has had to do with innovative education--openness, creativity, experiential, cooperative teaching, democratic relationships, a concern for the whole child and his potential, "Freely Functioning Freddie." The way in which the beliefs were held, with strong commitment and zeal, suggested the label of true believers, men and women of fanatical faith. Even then (Smith and Keith, 1971) we had tempered that a bit from the extreme of Hoffer's conceptualization. Our current data suggests that a continuum exists from the purists, who still fit Hoffer's portrayal to the pragmatists and the critical appraisers. The variability, while important, stuck us as less significant than the continuity of the belief systems. True belief is not easily altered. That, to us, is a significant generalization fifteen years later.

## 5.2 Educational Reform as Secular Religion: The Complex Nature of Belief Systems

### 5.21 The Issue

Throughout our methodological essays we have commented on the strange path of creativity as one does qualitative field work. We accented that again in our accounts of our attempts to do historical research on the Milford School District as context for the Kensington School. Now in our life history materials the strange career of creativity recurrs. Nowhere has that been more clear than our coming to the hunch, hypothesis, or theme "educational reform as secular religion." In a sense it should have been obvious from our original work, Anatomy of Educational Innovation. One of our key explanatory concepts was "true believer," from Eric Hoffer's (1951) work. Similarly we resonated to Klapp's (1969) concept of "crusaders." And we dragged in a few of our own, e.g. "pursuit of the holy grail" and "testamonials."

In a sense, we took those as "givens," items brought to the organization by this unusual staff. In an ahistorical way we treated the items as assumptions. In a sense, this seemed to be the stance taken by the organization, the Kensington School and the Milford District, also at that time and place, that is, as it started on its way to create a school. We did not make true belief problematic and we did not ask ourselves, Why did people like this come to Kensington? Nor did we ask, What makes people this way?

Further, we were still working heavily from a more behavioristic, functionalist, outside, non interfering, perspective. We tended to observe more than to interview. We were not consciously and intensively pursuing the "inner perspective" the world of interrelated beliefs and feelings, except for those that erupted into overt behavior and interaction. An interpretive metatheory or paradigm was, at best, implicit.

In our follow-up study of the faculty, which was mostly an intensive interview oriented attempt to obtain life histories from an inner perspective, we found religion. Religion seemed everywhere. Beyond all the particulars of several faculty studying for the ministry, one being born again, another finding "all the truth you need to know in this one book, the Bible," and others with 20 year histories of teaching Sunday School and adult Bible classes. the hypothesis that emerged involved the conversion of religious motivation, ideals, and actions, for a better world into the world of educational reform. In effect, our general claim is that "educational reform is secularized religion." In this section, we try to look into the nooks and crannies of this hunch and try to capture its meaning. In a sense this is a kind of interpretive anthropology or psychology, a thick description as Geertz (1973) might use the term.

### 5.22 Change Churches But Keep The Faith

> ...Kensington was an important but temporary training ground, a step for many of the staff as they searched to create careers as professional innovators. Commitment was to issues and ideas as well as to anything as place-bound as the generation of social structure of a beginning, fledgling organization. The ideas were portable, applicable elsewhere, and the educational world was waiting...
>
> (Smith and Keith, 1971, p. 117)

So wrote the researchers two decades ago as they analyzed the motive structure of the Kensington faculty, a faculty chosen for its commitment and belief that a new educational day was dawning. This was a young, bright faculty, eager and impatient to get on with the runrise. Heavy work schedules, late meetings, home preparation, interpersonal conflict, pressure from parents and peers had all been borne, if not gladly, at least willingly, all for the cause. Smith and Keith described in detail the phenomenon of true belief as it was displayed in the original Kensington drawing on Eric Hoffer and using such terms as "framework of faith" (p. 106), cultish (p. 108), the unassailable belief (p. 109), and other religious terms to help describe the depth of commitment held by the faculty and administration. Smith and Keith offered a rather sweeping statement by concluding, "He who would engage in large-scale innovative programs must be cognizant of the role of true belief that is endemic to the process." (p. 116)

There can be little doubt that the original staff shared a strong idealogical commitment which grew but of a rather intense religious socialization. Consider the following:

> 1) The Superintendent of the District and the Principal he selected to implement the school were fellow Bible Class students for several years earlier in their careers. The close church contacts led to family social exchanges and some years later the working relationship in the Milford district.
>
> 2) A staff member had been active as a youth lay minister and maintained the ministerial function in addition to his career as an educator.
>
> 3) One staff member spent his youth in various Jewish youth and athletic groups and has maintained a position of leadership in his temple.
>
> 4) One staff member, in addition to an active church life is married to an ex-seminarian with several years of theological training.

5) One faculty member was active in the preaching ministry just prior to undertaking graduate work in education which led to employment at Kensington.

6) Another staff member completed undergraduate work in theology, attended Divinity school, served a year as an intern in the parish ministry before joing the Kensington staff.

7) Another staff member had plans after high school to become an agricultural missionary following a very active involvement in his local church.

In addition to these specific examples of religious involvement the role of religion in early socialization was obvious in most of the remaining interviews as well. Nor was the significance of the religious socialization lost on the participants themselves. The tenor and context of the missionary item follows in a teacher's comment:

> So, the religious thing, let me go back to when I was a child 'cause this did affect what I did at Kensington. I grew up in a Baptist Church, my mother was a Catholic, my father was a Protestant who never went to church and somehow we ended up going to a Baptist church and I became very involved in the church as a child, and I grew up in the church and was active in the church through high school. I was so active and so committed that when I left high school and started college my goal was to become an agricultural missionary. (TI, 1979)

One faculty member spent considerable time tracing the twisting path which led to Kensington. The early religious experience was clearly there but very quickly it became more complicated. Ethnic origins, the Depression, early exposure to racial injustice, the World War II and a nearly fatal illness all interacted with religion to shape a believe system which held learning and the improvement of our society in high regard. Here is the religious part of his story:

> Obs: And the religious experience?

> TM: Yeah, I think the thing that got me thinking about religion more than anything else was not my dad who was not a very religious man, nor was my mother as far as that goes. She was a Baptist and he was a German Lutheran. And, oh, Grandad told me that during World War I when they closed the church, soldiers actually came into the German Lutheran churches, and this was in Illinois, and told them that they could not use German literature and they could not give their services in German or any of those things, and Grandpa said some of those people felt so badly about that, that they didn't think God could hear them unless they talked in German.
>
> So, I thought, you know, that was a pitiful thing, and some of my experiences since then have been the same. I remember once I was giving Communion in a church camp, when I was down in Texas at the end of a weekend retreat, and these were all seniors in college and seniors in high school and freshmen in college and I forgot to bring the darn kit, you know, with the little cups and things in it, and so I madly looked around and found some little Pepsi Cola sample cups, and I went in and got some wine and I also got some unsalted crackers, but you know, out of 28 kids there were 19 of them that refused to take the sacrament because it was not in the proper kind of container, as if that made a damn bit of difference!
>
> And so, I guess my whole life as I read in the Bible and I studied, you know, I'm going to say something as an educator you probably can't accept, but I don't go in for a lot of this psychological gobble-de-goop that comes out. Everything that you need to know to solve your problems, if you think about it, is right there in that Holy Bible. There are no new concepts on how you cure yourself or cure others. There are new medications, but as far as the positiveness of the thought process, so on and so forth, it is, it has been there all the time. And so, knowing that that was true, or feeling that that was true, I just felt a compulsion to get it across to people whether in a secular sense or within the framework of the church.

The overriding interpretive hypothesis in this section of our report has been "educational reform as secular religion." Initially we were struck by the importance of religion in the lives of our group of innovators. This seemed beyond just the amount and kind of "church going" among adults in general or even teachers in general. Rather it seemed that several other manifestations were afoot--a number of individuals were struggling actively with the place of religion in their lives, several had studied for the ministry, and others were unusually active in adult Sunday School teaching as well as church going.

As we reflected on the protocols of the open ended interviews we tried to piece together the "linkages" between religious views and educational views. We do not see these as "mechanisms" in any blind deterministic sense. Rather we took a more personality theory and social psychological position, that is, what personal and interpersonal events contributed to individual choices and decisions, actions and interactions which got them from there to here. Our synthesis or model has a patch work quilt quality, for several reasons. First, much of it is heavily dependent on our analysis of a few individuals in our group, e.g. Alec Thurman. Second, we do cut and sew bits and pieces from a member of our staff. And third, we appeal to a bit of more general history and sociology literature, e.g. Cremin (1980) and Bernbaum (1977).

The conversion of religious impulses to secular educational reform represented a complex set of events for Alec Thurman. Early in the interview he commented about the economic conditions of supporting a wife and two kids and beginning seminary and the difficulties in being a student pastor for two small town churches. He continued:

> AT: In fact, I was--I worked at doing that and then I went to another town in Illinois that had a larger Methodist Church and continued to attend seminary and many of the pressures on the family were even greater there. The kids were getting older and we just decided to leave and really didn't know what to do because we never really considered going back to the farm. That was...

> Obs: Were you specifically unhappy with the conditions there or was it a similar disenchantment with the ecclesiastical life, the life of the minister?
>
> AT: Yeah, okay, yeah, we felt when we left that we would be much more active and that we would do more good religiously out of the ministry. We felt frustrated by the politics of the ministry. Ministerial groups were, you know, frustrating experience, dealing with the politics of the church, all the factions of people fighting with each other. Those were the things that were most oppressing to us and as I said, we felt we would be more active after we left but we weren't, that didn't happen at all. Now, this has been coming up for a long time. I don't even know how long because it took us a long time for me to make that change. My wife really had to push too--she was the primary push to get us out of the church. Part of that was because my family was big on, you know, when you start something, you finish it kind of thing and that was a very powerful thing in my life and it relates--I think it ties some of this together because after making that first change it was a lot easier in the future to look at alternatives. We left the church there.

He reported arriving at State University with his family and a U-Haul trailer and a mixup in his admission to the history department.

From comments in the interview such as these we reconstructed, Alec Thurman's reconsideration of this early decision to shift from the ministry to teaching. We would argue it's one fragment toward a more general model underlying the interpretive theme, educational reform as secular religion.

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Insert Figure 27 About Here

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For some, the religious aspect was a part of the process of Kensington. When Sue Norton raised it we tried to get her to back off, feeling we might have suggested the idea:

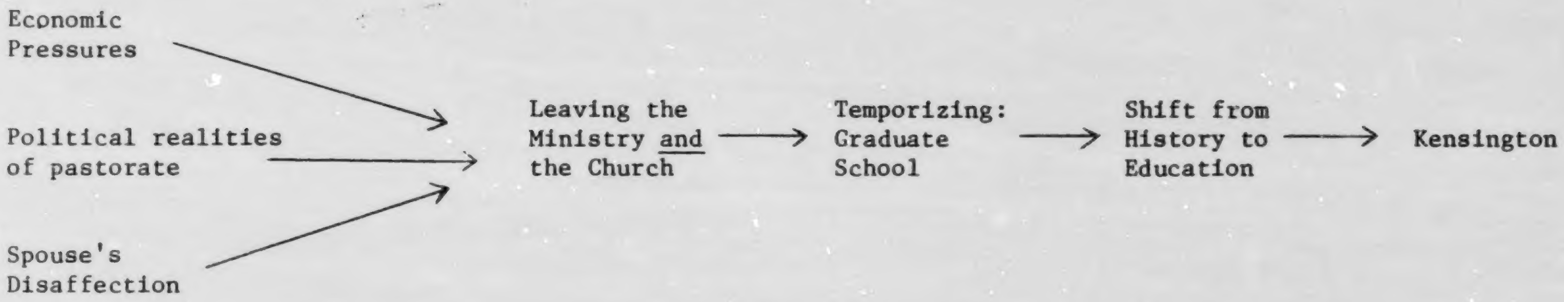
Economic Pressures
Political realities of pastorate
Spouse's Disaffection
Leaving the Ministry and the Church
Temporizing: Graduate School
Shift from History to Education
Kensington

Figure 27: Aspects of Alec Thurman's Shift from Religion to Education

Obs: And you didn't go, again, like Eugene for instance, or Steven or people of that sort, at that point?

Sue N.: No, I didn't--Kensington was dead.

Obs: Yeah, not long live Kensington.

SN: Right, yeah, it was gone--and part--okay, part of that, I think and I'm not sure about this, this is just top of the head, to go back to any of the individuals from the original would be like trying to make something whole with only splintered parts of it.

Obs: A disloyalty?

SN: No, not a disloyalty--it could never be the same and it would hurt more to be reminded of what could have been by having something to do with someone who had been involved in it. Very viseral reaction to Kensington, very emotional, it was a--in a way, a religious experience, yeah, and the terminology conversion--all this is--it's very much there.

Obs: Is that out of our discussions or when you think of that, you use the word religious experience, is--if somebody across the back fence, would have asked you about Kensington would you have used that kind of an expression or...?

SN: I think I might have 'cause I think that there was always a feeling--I can remember going over there nights typing kids' stories and I would be there 'til eleven or twelve o'clock at night, alone in the building and then because I--we lived a block away and walking home and almost having a feeling of, you know, the commitment of a nun to teaching, the kind of thing and feeling, boy, now--the Catholics really have it.

Obs: You understand that now.

SN: I understand that now--right.

Obs: As you walked back home sort of.

SN: Right.

Obs: So that was a feeling from 15 years ago.

SN: Yeah, that was the feeling from 15 years ago--again, balanced against a really wild social life, you know, which has nothing to do with being a nun at all but...(laughter)

Obs: Did you talk to anybody about that kind of a feeling for instance?

SN: I'm sure I did, I don't know to whom. I did talk to anybody who'd listen.

> Obs: You remember, to carry on the religious a bit, if you were in the order at that time, or were a nun, was your primary commitment to those specific children, to the kind of change of public education in America or to the abstract? Do you have any feelings as to what it was you were struggling for?
>
> SN: Primary was to the kids, primary was to the particular kids within that group, little Suzy, the one who got written up in National Review, whatever it was--particular kids but with long range view of always in mind that maybe we can effect a permanent change on education.
>
> Obs: So that kind of reform urge was very much a part of your...?
>
> SN: Yeah, can't get away from that vocabulary can we? Yeah, it's there.

As the various faculty members presented their life histories and as their stories elaborated the various religious themes, the concept which seem to best capture much of what we were hearing was "secularization of religious values." Tom Mack's story, which we have just presented, seems a vivid account of the mix of educational and religious values. His deeply held view of the Bible and its teaching:

> Everything that you need to know to solve your problems, if you think about it, is right there in that Holy Bible.

captures it vividly, potently, and succinctly. In other individuals the same tenor of intense moral commitment, true belief if you like, exists. But it has gotten converted, secularized. Alec Thurman's story seems the prototype. Ironically, the core idea was caught in a phrase that appeared and reappeared in his long, two-day interview:

> No one right way!

That was a telling comment.

The struggle with moral issues was demonstrated by this remark. Alec admitted that he frequently watched the 700 Club as an example of conservative religious television programming and he was struck with the faith and fervor of the rightness shown on television extending an index finger and shouting "One Right Way!" In addition, Alec indicated his surprise and regret that a youth hero, Bob Dylan, had become a born again Christian. He further admitted that he listened carefully to Dylan's recent work with the expectation that such a religious conversion would probably lead to a deterioration of musical quality. Alec concluded however, that that had not happened. Alec's reform orientation and his return to the University in the late 1960's was to involve him more dramatically in the anti war and communal movements.

## 5.23 Content and Structure: The Transformation of Educational Beliefs

Most of our discussion has been on the content of the belief systems of the faculty members. And mostly we have argued for a pervasive continuity in beliefs. One of the most strikingly different turn of events illustrating another kind of continuity in change occurred in the case of David Nichols, an ISD teacher during Kensington's first year. In some regards, he was the prototypical Kensington teacher--extremely bright, highly creative, inexperienced except for an MAT, and highly individualistic. In our view, at that time, he was the most Rousseauian child centered teacher we have ever seen in the public schools, or elsewhere for that matter. Children's choices about goals, what should be learned, the materials and methods of learning, and the pacing of learning were all to be honored. His story as with others, runs all through Anatomy, he was an influential member of the faculty.

We should have realized, when we made our first telephone call and contact, that something was afoot. For in that call, in the course of exchanging initial "how are you's" and "explaining the nature of the project" he commented that everything was going well, that he "had been blessed." It seemed an odd choice of words which briefly registered and then was passed over as the conversation developed. Later, in an interview, David talked about his "born again" Christian experience and the impact of that throughout his life. For the moment, we look at the content and structures of his beliefs. In talking about his educational beliefs, David felt fully committed to the original goals of Kensington but left little doubt about his retrospective look at the implementation:

> David N.: But the point I wanted to make was that I--the basic philosophy and rationale at Kensington--I still agree with.
>
> Obs: Uh, huh...
>
> DN: And I felt at that time--and I feel today--the philosophy was conceptually sound and practically sound in terms of a way of educating children, you know. Now there was some things that I perhaps don't agree with now but on the whole--the whole concept of individualized instruction, team teaching, giving children a greater degree of freedom, helping them learn how to become more independent and learn how to study and learn how to learn rather than just pour knowledge into them is a very important concept. And looking at how rapidly knowledge increases--you can't keep up with it in the school system. There's no way a teacher can keep her students current every year so the children need the basic fundamental skills but they also need to learn how to learn, you know, and that's one of the things that we were trying to do that we didn't succeed in doing. But I'm totally supportive of the basic goals that we were trying to achieve at Kensington which we didn't achieve. But I'm not at all in agreement with how it was done.
>
> Obs: You want to talk a little bit about that?
>
> DN: Yes, I can see some--in hindsight--some major mistakes that were made even before this faculty was ever brought together.

> Obs: Do you want to talk a little bit about those?
>
> DN: Yeah, yeah, I--it's really ironic because we have three children now--eleven, eight, and seven--and they're all in a school that's almost like Kensington in its concept.
>
> The principal--he's been there since the school was built--started as a, you know, an innovative school with the concept of team teaching and individualized instruction to a degree--not totally like we were trying to do in much of Kensington but it's--it seems so ironic to me that here the very thing that we tried to do in a year and totally failed at--almost completely failed at--my children are going to a school where that's being done and very successfully.

While educational ideology has remained intact, other aspects of his belief system have not and this interplay of educational ideology and personality structure is both complex and fascinating. The fifteen years have brought about a dramatic shift in personal belief systems for him which are clearly reflected in the modifications of his strategies for child rearing if not in the ends themselves. The mix of religious belief, role changes, and educational perspective are vividly demonstrated in the following passage:

> There's been some very major changes that have taken place in my life in 15 years and if I was a--if I had an opportunity to become a school principal today I would seriously consider it. I doubt if I would take it but if I got a job as a principal of an elementary school I would take a very strong leadership role as the principal and I would be a very strong disciplinarian. I--you know, including spankings--which are done in our school with our children. I would--I had a very liberal attitude toward discipline at that time which was one of my biggest mistakes, but if I was to take over a school today or take a school on like Kensington my style as a leader would be very--not highly structured--it would be structured but it would be a strong, aggressive role as the leader--leading a staff and trying to get them to work together as a team, you know, not being a total autocrat but making decisions--and making things happen and not just being a reactor.

The discussion of David's religious experience, from the interviewers' perspective began tentatively and cautiously, after David's earlier comments on the school and on his shifting beliefs:

> Obs: I don't want to pry into your religious life, obviously, but a word on that...
>
> DN: I don't have any problem talking about it.
>
> Obs: That sounds like a major event that's happened.
>
> DN: Yes, it was--that happened in 1973. This thing with the children took place in 1968, '69, '70.

The story built upon his discussion of the role of father and appeared with minimal interruption by the interviewer:

> DN: I am very happy being a father who disciplines his children, who loves them first and disciplines them and guides them and does have controls on their life to help them grow up the way we believe they should grow up, in a Christian home and that set of values, something I never had, before I had children. Even in my own family, I was not raised with a lot of discipline and structure which accounts for some of my thinking as I grew up...
>
> Obs: Earlier beliefs in that sense...?
>
> DN: But the thing that shook me was having my own family but I'm very happy being the leader of my family and they're pretty happy about it too. Not a dictator, you know, but fulfilling the role of a father. So--the religious thing--let me go back to when I was a child 'cause this did affect what I did at Kensington, the whole thing did. I grew up in a Baptist church, my mother was a Catholic, my father was a Protestant who never went to church and somehow we ended up going to a Baptist church and I became very involved in the church as a child and I grew up in the church and was active in the church through high school. I was so active and so committed that when I left high school and started college my goal was to become agriculture missionary.
>
> Obs: Oh...
>
> DN: But then I went to the State University. The experience of going to college then, the intellectual environment within the first year, totally turned me against all my prior religious beliefs. I became an agnostic.

Obs: This was at the State University?

DN: Yes, and I got around people that were majoring in philosophy and they were seniors and they were on a mind trip and I thought the mind was everything then, you know, and I really got taken in by that and I rejected everything that had anything to do with God in my life. That was a major mistake. But that's what happened so from the time I went to college at about 18 until 33 years of age, that's about what? Fifteen years I had not spiritual interests in my life or no religious --didn't go to church--nothing at all--I threw out the baby with the bath water. The whole thing. And I would take the position that if God existed, He'd have to prove it, you know. Well, that led to problems then, finally--and we had all three children during this time...

Obs: Now was your wife Susan at that time going to church or...?

DN: She was up until we got married. She was active in the church, she was teaching Sunday School, always believed in God, was close to Him and when she married me she found out that I wanted nothing to do with it and not wanting to cause any tension in the family, she naturally didn't press the issue. She would say from time to time, you know, "Would you go to church?", and I'd say, "No, I don't want anything to do with it.", and so we had no religious--I'd rather say spiritual rather than religious--no spiritual orientation in our family and so we started having children. That still didn't make any difference to me and I was--I got into the business world then in 1965, after I left Kensington I got a job in personnel with a publisher. So I really got--and I was successful so I began to pursue my interest in the business world while I was having a family. And I was very successful and yet I was unhappy--I was empty inside but I didn't--I just coped with it, you know, for a long time, and then we had the second child, then I went to work at Electric Company and was very successful there and was...

Obs: What did you do at Electric Company? Personnel work again?

DN: Yeah, I started out in personnel and employment but then I got into training and development, which is the field I'm in now and it's basically teaching, which is--I have a teacher's heart and I love it but--I lost my train of thought...

Obs: The mix of the kids, the jobs and the spiritual...

DN: Okay, so--and this was all the--and still during this time I had totally rejected anything regarding the Lord and I wanted nothing to do with it but then we had the second child and things started getting a little rougher but still I was succeeding in the business world, but yet there was something empty inside me, something missing which I really didn't acknowledge. Then we had the second child, we thought, boy, this is just right, two kids, a girl and a boy and three years in between, we had it all under control see, all figured out and that's the kind of thinking I had. I was in control of my life and I didn't need anything spiritual, I didn't need God. I was a self-made person yet I was empty inside. So then we had the third child, which we did not want, we did not want three children and we were using birth control, you know, a birth control method, and it didn't work. I believe God intervened in that situation purposely to bring me to where I am today. So after we had her, and we dearly love her, she's a precious child and as far as we can tell, there's no harm that's been done her because we didn't want her. We did show somewhat of a negative attitude I think at first but we still loved her and she's just a--she's a beautiful kid. But when we had the third child we began to have so many problems, both of us, and we realized that we were no longer in control of our lives...

Obs: Individually or interpersonally or...?

DN: Both, the whole thing, in the family, in our own personal lives. We knew there was something missing and I was working for a man at Electric Company who was a born again Christian, my boss. He wife was a born again Christian, they associated with a lot of Christian friends, a deeply religious man. He was the best man I ever worked for. He provided me all the opportunities at Electric Company to develop into this position of training managers which is what I do today. So I had approximately four years with this man and it was under him that I learned most of what I know today about training managers in the business world. But I went to him one day and I was just all broken up, I didn't know what--where I was going or--had this feeling of anxiety and emptiness and lack of direction--he said, "David", he was the kind of boss that you could talk to--he said, "David, you need to get your spiritual life straightened out" and he said, "We have some friends that I want you and Susan to meet", and so he worked it out for Susan to have lunch with his wife and this friend of theirs who was also a born again Christian. And we were just at the end of our rope. We had, I mean, we had no peace in our life at all, if you know what I'm talking about. If you've had any kind of experience with God and see, I had, for all those years, I thought my mind was the answer and I discovered it wasn't, that I couldn't find peace with my intellect, that the things of God, the real important things of life cannot be understood with the natural mind because they are supernatural. So Susan goes to have lunch with this--these two gals and this one shares her testimony and shares God's plan of salvation with Susan at the lunch table at the Ramada Inn over there. Some of the people used to stay over there from Kensington, remember that? Lesley, that consultant from Central City. But they had lunch in that restaurant and this gal presented God's plan of salvation to Susan and asked Susan if she was ready to be born again, to invite Christ into her life and Susan said, "yes", Susan's right there in the restaurant, said the sinners prayer and became a born again Christian. She never--she had done that earlier in her life as a real young child at a Billy Graham crusade but now it was much more meaningful so Susan accepts the Lord. She comes home. I was staying home with the kids that day, took off some time from work, and she shares her story with me how it happened and so that busts me up...

Obs: I can imagine.

DN: That broke me up, not in a negative way--I was--I cried and so about three or four days later I made the same decision and I just went in my bathroom one day and I got down on my knees and I said, "God, I have made a mess out of my life and now I'm going to give you a chance. I've tried for fifteen years to make it so I'm giving you a chance." And I accepted Christ as my Saviour and Lord and my life began to change from that day up until 1973. That was even more important than the change of having a family because it was only through that that I began to have peace in my life because I was at peace with God then, which I hadn't been for fifteen years. That has been the single most important change in my whole life and it's changed the whole course of my life and if it hadn't been for that experience and my growth and my Christian work, I couldn't have started my own business in 1975, which is what I did. And we've been in it now for going into our fifth year and we've been blessed, it's just a beautiful experience. But we went into it with nothing, I had lost a job and was on the street and couldn't find another one, the economy was bad then, that was in 1975 and so I prayed about it and looked and looked for work but all the doors were closed so I knew it was God's timing to start a business and I did but I did it on faith. I didn't do it on any kind of intellectual power or all those things that I used to rely on, you know. Not that I don't use my mind any more, I mean, I used it but there's a higher priority. But that's been in--my religious experience has changed my thinking about authority and discipline and structure and all those areas which I was so liberal in before and I know what the Bible teaches on these subjects too, and you know, right from the New Testament, I mean the Old Testament, all the way through the New Testament so that's been the most major change that's taken place and that was--it's been now since 1973. But every one of my children knows the Lord as their Saviour and Lord, which is a tremendous thing, you know, and we are very committed to our church, we're very active in it.

Although David Nichols might cast the experience differently, our attempts to integrate his views into our evolving social science perspective appears in Figure 28. The central points we make are these: 1) the complexity of belief systems; 2) the distinction between the structure and the content of belief systems; 3) the continuing play of religious experience and ideas in his educational beliefs; 4) the importance of major, traumatic events in the shift in beliefs.

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Insert Figure 28 About Here

---

But the conversion experience was only one part of his shifting point of view. Marriage and family were two additional interrelated aspects. David talked of these items as the conversation shifted to other aspects of his world view:

> Obs: What brought about that change in the sense that in some ways it seems to me that's a move from what might have been labeled more Rousseauian position on...?
>
> DN: Oh yes, and I'm totally opposed against that--one hundred percent.
>
> Obs: That's a real flip-flop as I perceive it.
>
> DN: Because I don't think God made man that way. Okay, and there's been some changes in my spiritual life since then that have affected my thinking more than anything else but man as an organism just doesn't develop naturally into a--the type of person that he's supposed to be--he needs structure and he needs discipline, you know, and he needs guidance. Children need discipline, they need guidance and structure to be secure. And I think one of the major things that changed me in addition to my spiritual--change in my spiritual life was having a family. Actually having to be responsible for raising three children.
>
> Obs: Right--that...

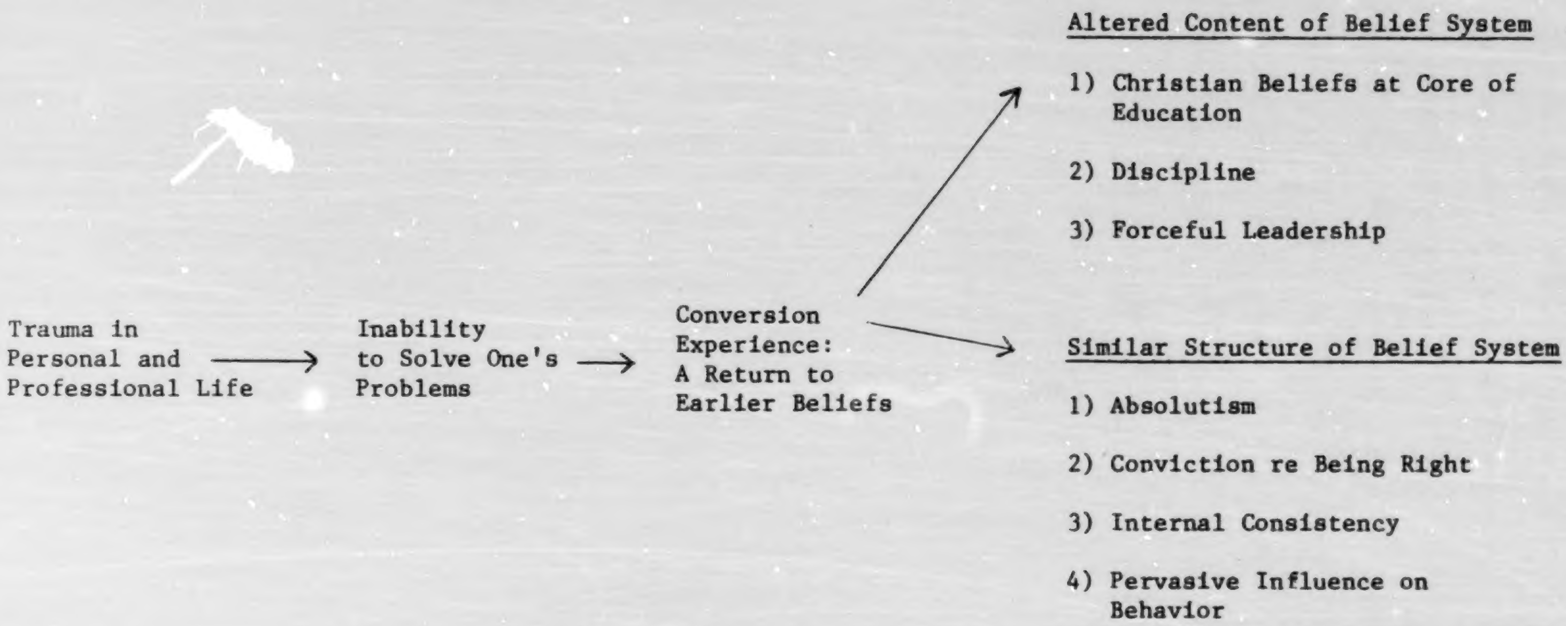
Trauma in Personal and Professional Life
Inability to Solve One's Problems
Conversion Experience: A Return to Earlier Beliefs
Altered Content of Belief System
1) Christian Beliefs at Core of Education
2) Discipline
3) Forceful Leadership
Similar Structure of Belief System
1) Absolutism
2) Conviction re Being Right
3) Internal Consistency
4) Pervasive Influence on Behavior

Figure 28 A Social Science Analysis of a Change in Belief System

DN: And when I discovered--you know, we have three beautiful children, God has blessed us--it's been beautiful and they are all just--they're doing super in school.

Obs: Well, tell me a little bit more about the change.

DN: The change and what I discovered as a parent was that the Rousseauian concept was just totally unacceptable for me. As a matter of fact, I think it's deceiving--even--just like the Dr. Spock concept that has been advocated for so many years of don't hit your children--you know, the permissive child-rearing practices and Spock I understand within the last two years or so has admitted that his philosophy was wrong.

Obs: He's recanted some, yeah, how much or whatever, I don't know.

DN: Yeah, okay, but at least he's saying that, "Hey, you know, what I was advocating in my books was not necessarily the best way to raise children." But I learned just in--just through the experience of having children that they needed structure, that they needed discipline, that they needed love--needed love first, you know, but they definitely need to have leadership from their parents and control--not total, one hundred percent, absolute, ironclad control, but they needed to have control and I decided that either we would--if we didn't have discipline in our home we would go crazy. There was only one alternative and that was to go bananas with three children and so I--being practical I just said well, this is what has to be done. But that was a real shock to me see, 'cause that shook all this liberal thinking that I had had for many years.

Mediating the "flip flop" or "100% change," which upon reflection seems less dramatic than those terms imply, is a very important item, the nature and present location of the youngsters:

DN: We had Irma Hall, who today I would have--I have much more respect for than I did then as an excellent classroom teacher and children need what she can give them. And then we had the ones at my extreme that didn't want to teach them anything, which we also need to a degree, you know, for the older kids that have learned--my feeling now is we need both kinds, you know. We need more of the Irmas at the early basic skills stages to teach the kids, they have to be taught, and then as they grow older to have people who can work with them and give them greater degree of freedom and help them learn how to become real independent learners, you know, and learn how to use all the resources and that was what I was really excited about.

Ironically, the formal plan of the school had three divisions: Basic Skills, Transition, and Independent Study sequenced to do just what he proposed. But here we are really more interested in the shifting and adjusting of parts of the belief system.

Shortly thereafter the interviewer turn the conversation to David's wife, Susan:

> Obs: Does Susan share those beliefs, essentially?
>
> DN: Oh, yes, as a matter of fact she always shared those--she was very concerned about my overly liberal attitudes when I was teaching at Kensington because she was a strong disciplinarian when she was teaching high school.
>
> Obs: And she was teaching in Milford at the time?
>
> DN: Yeah, as a matter of fact, she often tells the story which will kind of tell you where she comes from and how she handled kids. She taught at the time you could still grab a kid by the back of the neck and haul them out of the classroom and tear his shirt off his back almost and take him down to the principal's office and say, "Suspend this kid.", and the principal wouldn't even ask you why--he would just do it. And she actually had done that at the time when you could take a pointer and crack it over a kid's desk and wake him up. You know, things that teachers are fearful of doing today but she was very strong and always doubted the--my overly liberal attitudes on discipline even though the children that I had in Kensington, many of them were taking to the approach of the individualized instruction--not all of them--but it was--I guess it was because of the personal relationship I was able to develop with them and my liking for them and their liking for me that they responded pretty well. Susan's always been, you know, of that school of thought, of the need for discipline and structure and that's the way she always taught, and she's very successful.

The more we explored educational belief systems the more entangled they became. And later the more frustrated we became as analysts because of the necessity of speaking linearly about the phenomena of interest. Here we begin to raise the importance of David Nichols' work experience as an antecedent of changes in his educational beliefs. But in so doing we find we also have to adjust our view of the educational belief system itself, its overlapping and non overlapping of other domains or subsystems of belief, and thirdly, its connections with other aspects of David's personality. With this introduction we can trace some further important aspects of David's belief system:

> DN: I would say that the major change in my life has been spiritual since 1965 when Kensington was over and if I were to teach in Kensington today I'd be a totally different type of teacher. Still agreeing and believing in the philosophy of individualized instruction and team teaching and all that but a much stronger role for myself as a teacher.
>
> But I spent a year there and then I left there and in 1968 went to Electric Company and I stayed there from 1968 to 1974. So Electric Company was the first employer that I had where I really had any stability in terms of time. The first nine months I was in the corporate employment office and then the guy that was head of that left and I was transferred to this training and development department, at that time under the boss I told you about. And that was in about 1969--the middle of 1969--and that was when I began to get into the management training thing. It just seemed to be a natural and I enjoyed it and I did well and courses I taught were successful. But I never taught through lecture though, never have been a lecturer type instructor, which is interesting. I teach in a very structured manner but the approach that I have used in training is participative. Instead of giving people two hour lectures or a one day lecture, we work on case studies and on job issues. We have them identifying their current job problems and things like that so there's a lot of participation. That's one reason why our company has succeeded in the five years we've been in business.
>
> Obs: So in a sense there are some major links with the Kensington style?
>
> DN: Oh yes, definitely, and I learned how to teach--train managers at Electric Company--but the thing I learned-- now, these are adults and we were dealing with children. Adults don't need the same degree of structure as children do, most of them, and in the business world when you're training managers management skills most of them are having problems and they want to learn something about how can I solve this problem with this employee, you know, so they're very motivated for the most part to get something out of it, so you have like

a captive audience. But, the small group techniques and so on that I was using there, I use in my training today. And people love it, they love it. Now we give them guide lines and principles and we do give them short lectures, you know, in certain principles, it's not just a rap session. It's structured, there's a lesson planned for my classes--I have a lesson plan.

(Laughter)

DN: I knew I'd get a laugh out of you--but it's very much a participative approach.

Obs: But that's, I guess, what I'm hearing in a sense--it's again some of the images I have from years ago. It sounds almost as though much of the interpersonal style, the concern and so on, is maintained and then there's an array of, in some sense, both more sophisticated and yet quite simple techniques that go along with that...

DN: I like that word simple--yeah, it has a blend of that which--I think the thing that--I love people, you know, I've always been oriented toward people and I'm more so today than I was then and I'm more concerned about people and I'm concerned about their spiritual life more than anything else. But there is like, compassion and a concern I have for people that comes across and I have a real obsession with helping people in management training. Now my obsession is to help them be more effective with their people and they sense that when I work with them, you know. But we work with them in an informal fun type atmosphere. One person described our training this way. She said, "I enjoy the painless way of learning." So it's, but it's-- the major difference is the structure. I don't believe in going into a class without a plan and I have a lesson plan for every class I teach--there are a few exceptions to that but I have a lesson plan for every class I teach which is basically one page of an outline of the basic process I'm going to go through and most of the time I deviate somewhat from that outline but most of the time I cover most of what's on that outline. And I have hand-outs, which I use to guide the class activities. We do a lot of work, my class is a working type class, they don't just sit there and just passively receive. They become very much involved. I interrupted your question...

Figure 29 summarizes the antecedents of the shifts in David's belief system.

Insert Figure 29 About Here

When we first began reflecting on David's history we made distinctions in content and structure of his belief system. We saw the great change in the permissive to structured content of beliefs. In addition there was the huge change in religious content from atheist to born again Christian. But we felt that the structural characteristics were the same. He was still a "true believer."

But some of the observations we made, based on his comments in the interview, had more to do with his unbounded excitement, enthusiasm, energy, and quality of thought, characteristics which we had seen years before. Now they were couched differently and seemingly more restrained:

> DN: We say no. As a matter of fact, we've phased out a couple of our clients which were just night time teaching positions because I really want to spend more time with my family at night, and I haven't neglected my family. They're a very high priority, they're more important than the business so the business has really not interferred with my family life. As a matter of fact, this would be interesting to you, I have more freedom and more time for myself and my family now than I ever had when I was in industry. When I was in the corporate world it was ridiculous because your time was really not your own and if I had wanted to continue to succeed and grow in the corporate structure I'd have had less and less time for my family and that's just not right so it's really been neat because I feel my most important role in life now, after my relationship with God, is my relationship to my wife and my children and I would be willing to become a garbage collector today if the Lord spoke to me and said, "Give up your company." I don't think he will but my family is much more important to me than my job. I love what I'm doing, I've never been happier. It's interesting how all these experiences fit together, you know, all of your life experiences because I can see my childhood affecting what happened at Kensington and I can see what happened at Kensington affecting what I'm doing today, you know, so all those things tie together.

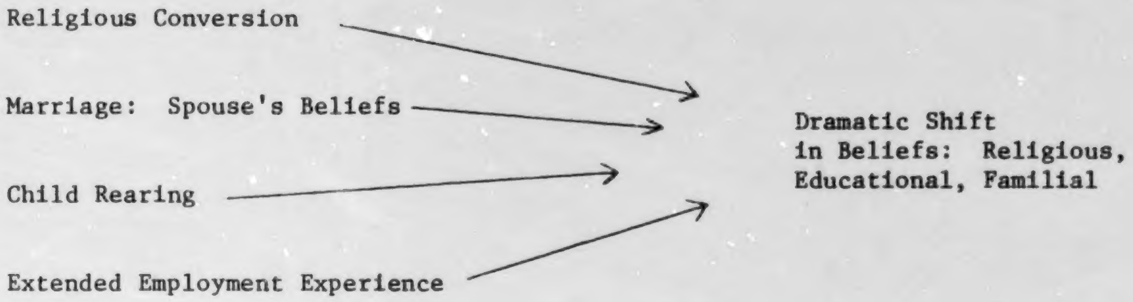
Religious Conversion
Marriage: Spouse's Beliefs
Child Rearing
Extended Employment Experience
Dramatic Shift in Beliefs: Religious, Educational, Familial

Figure 29: Perceived Experiential Influences on Belief Systems

Youth and experience had been a dimension of the faculty in our original alanysis. David's self comment raises a slightly different aspect:

> DN: And that immaturity that I came--I came to Kensington with that and that wasn't their fault, that was my problem. I'm sure that Shelby and the other people that interviewed me couldn't have picked that up at that time anyway, you know. They thought I was probably a good candidate and I thought I was too.
>
> Obs: I'm sure they saw a bright, creative, energetic guy.
>
> DN: Innovative type person, you know. But they didn't see the problems that were affecting me so. But in the fifteen years since I left Kensington I've become a man, I don't want to sound boastful but that's really what's happened you know. I know what it is to be a man and I never learned that in my own home.

Toward the close of our interview with David Nichols, we asked him a "terminating the interview" kind of question which he interpreted alternatively and which was beyond the content per se, redintegrated our images of true believers, men and women of fanatical faith, willing to die for the cause:

> Obs: Anything else about the school then or now or anything in your own life that somehow, if we're to capture that, I ought to know about? Anything else that flickers through?
>
> DN: I think where I'm coming from right now--if I was going to have to select a staff of people to work on a project like this, my first concern would be their spiritual life and where they are in--with their relationship to their Creator and if they've got that straightened out. And that doesn't mean they have to go to church every Sunday, but if they have their priorities in their life straightened out and they--I would not hire an agnostic or an atheist to work for me, okay, but if they had their spiritual relationship with the Lord worked out, to me that would be the most important thing. There has to be an element of stability in their personal life that can carry them through a major innovation or change, and to me that would be the most important thing. If we had that kind of stability, you know, I think it would be much easier to

> pull off something like that. But, you know, if you look at the spiritual convictions and lives of the people--we had a guy who was preparing to be a minister and wasn't, okay, and we had all kinds of beliefs and philosophies, not that they should all be the same to make it work but if I was interviewing people I would be very concerned about where they're coming from in the spiritual area of their lives and if they've got that straightened and their priorities seem to be right and they're at peace then I would be very interested in their other qualifications. But see, that's not something we look at traditionally. But that's where I'm coming from...

Our initial reflection on our interview with David Nichols was the one posed in the title, a shift in the content of the beliefs, 180 degrees in religious elements, great shift in belief toward more adult administrator assertiveness, leadership and discipline, considerable shift in teaching styles, less shift in goals and means of the individualized instruction and independence and autonomy of the children's learning. But our reaction was that the structure of the belief system was maintained. Now we have generalized that to the broader category of the structure of the personality. True believers, are true believers, are true believers. And this is not meant pejoratively for the more general point is that personality, structures of all types, are personality structures, are personality structures. The large question is how open they are to change and what kind of change is desirable. The mix of empirical and valuational issues in that are well beyond most scientific psychological theories. For himself, David Nichols had cut to the heart of that kind of theorizing.

## 5.24 Conclusions and Implications

The issue of the moral component of public educators has always been a thorny thicket for educational theorists. Ironically, the only times and places when educators can clearly resolve church and state issues is when they are so intertwined that they cannot be clearly seen, let alone be separated. For instance, educational communities with very homogeneous religious beliefs might agree that prayer in school is legitimate but only if it is not denominationally specific. In this case, harmony prevails. In a setting with more heterogeneous religious views, a determination is often impossible to make as to when moral education becomes religious in nature and when it is secular.

Therefore it is not surprising at one level, that our educational reformers took root in religious soil. Probably Madalyn Murray and Jerry Falwell could both accept John Dewey's notion that true education must be moral education. However, what is surprising and worthy of note is the lack of discussion in the literature regarding the intricate relationship of religious belief and educational commitment. The subject rarely comes up in discussions of motives for teaching or factors which drive innovation in education.

While the research literature may avoid the topic it was clear to almost each and every one of our participants that their own motive structure was heavily influenced by early religious experiences. They were not uncomfortable with the religious connections and readily picked up references from the original study (e.g. holy grail) and described their earlier commitment as intense, fervent and yes, religious. As Sue put it, "...we lived a block away and walking home and almost having a feeling of you know, the commitment of a nun to teaching."

The secular aspect was underscored by Sue as she added a moment later, "...that was the feeling from fifteen years ago--again, balanced against a really wild social life, you know, which has nothing to do with being a nun at all!"

As the interviews began unfolding, a strand became visible and subsequent interviews sharpened the image until it stood out in bold relief. As we indicated in the prior chapter on educational ideology, for a number of the faculty, the passage of years had not dimmed the religious commitment to an educational idea. For some, the years had altered the means but not the ends, for others even the means had not been changed. There was evidence that the commitment carried both a secular component as well as the more typical examples of religiousity. Some had rekindled early religious commitment to organized religion which others had rejected rather violently the role of religion but retained a strong ethical, moral component. Finally, some had undergone rather dramatic religious conversion as "born again" Christians. The strong belief theme, so evident in the original Kensington as a commitment to an educational ideology appears to have sprung from a much broader religious base than was earlier realized. As we pushed and probed in the interviews it appeared that religious belief and its modification was one of the most powerful melodies which we heard played out time and time again.

Clearly, and as one last nod to the complexity of belief systems in religion and education, there were differences in the group. About a half dozen of the Latter Day Kensingtonians were Sustainers. The Sustainers had developed a view which integrated family, religion and

340

education in a coherent and articulated manner. They had sustained their church connections and maintained their fervent desire to improve and enhance public education either through full time professional efforts or through part time involvement in voluntary association with local schools. Another subset of the faculty might be labeled as Intensifiers in that the early fervor and commitment of youth had apparently been allowed to wane during the early part of the post-Kensington years and then had gradually been re-kindled in the typical pattern which includes marriage, children and an investment in the community. Finally, a third group of the faculty manifested a more dramatic modification which warrants the label of Modifiers. This group included those who had undergone rather sharp disillusionment with formal religion or its institutional forms as well as some who had been converted in even more dramatic fashion. Regardless of whether one leapt into or out of religious persuasion, there remained a fascination with religious beliefs which persuaded the observers that the issue had been only temporarily resolved and that the final word had yet to be spoken on the issue. At best, an uneasy truce appeared to have been struck with religious conviction.

The three categories represent nothing unique in and of themselves in that nearly any group could be allowed to scatter for thirteen years, be restudied and three points on a religious continuum could be located for each person in the original group. What appeared unique was the intensity with which the staff continued to feel and believe after the passage of fifteen years and a wide variety of personal and professional experiences. The true believer quality which had been noted and analyzed in the original

Kensington story appeared as strong or stronger after 15 years of nearly complete isolation from one another and after a dramatic societal ideological shift toward education which is close to 180 degrees. For example, the Back to Basics movement is just one instance of a shift which appeared to have had very little impact on the Weltanschaung of the original faculty and staff of Kensington.

One of the most difficult tasks in theorizing in educational and social science research is finding the links, bridges, and mechanisms within and between domains of data, miniature theories, and key themes. We believe that the process is aided by care in definitions of key concepts, by careful thinking of part-whole, inclusion-exclusion relationships among concepts, and by antecedent-consequence ("causal") relationships. In addition, and perhaps most critically, having, or finding, an initial insight is most significant. In this instance, Bernbaum's Knowledge and Ideology in the Sociology of Education, in a brief, two paragraph illustration provided this service. We have excerpted several key sentences as he makes a three step argument. First:

> In general, therefore, I am arguing that there are certain common features of the employment of philosophy, psychology and sociology within teacher education. These features relate to the ideological qualities which, historically, have underpinned the training of teachers. In essence, these ideologies have served to emphasise the affective and non-cognitive aspects of the teacher's task. Well into this century the denominational influence upon the college was overwhelming, and Jean Floud's immage of the "missionary spirit" which characterised the colleges is a powerful and accurate one. More recently the secularisation of teacher education has only served to transform the religious ethic of the colleges into an ideology which draws heavily upon romantic concepts of innocence and childhood. (pp. 32-33)

In this part of his analysis, if we understand him, he is arguing a position which we have tried to capture in pictorial form, Figure 30. Essentially, it is an institutional analysis, denominational influence on the ideology of the teacher training institution, and this doctrine infusing the teacher training program.

Insert Figure 30 About Here

Second:

> A further consequence of these approaches is that discussions in teacher education frequently incorporate an interest in "the fundamental goals of life", and, as Taylor has remarked, an "element of hortatory transcendentalism is a feature of a good deal of the discussion". In this way the mixture of interpersonal, child-centred concepts of education merge with affective and expressive concern over the nature of education to give rise to a special view of the nature of social change and of the wider society. (p. 33)

And third:

> In a similar fashion, discussions on the nature of society and of social change are frequently characterised by a rural nostalgia which can attribute ill to industrialisation and urbanisation by cross reference to the widely held romantic view of childhood as innocence and the child as victim. (p. 33)

The blend of "fundamental goals of life," the "special view of the nature of social change and the wider society," "rural nostalgia," and the romantic view of childhood into "hortatory transcendentalism" broadens immensely the conception with which we have struggled. The conceptual and empirical synthesis of these items remains fragmentary.

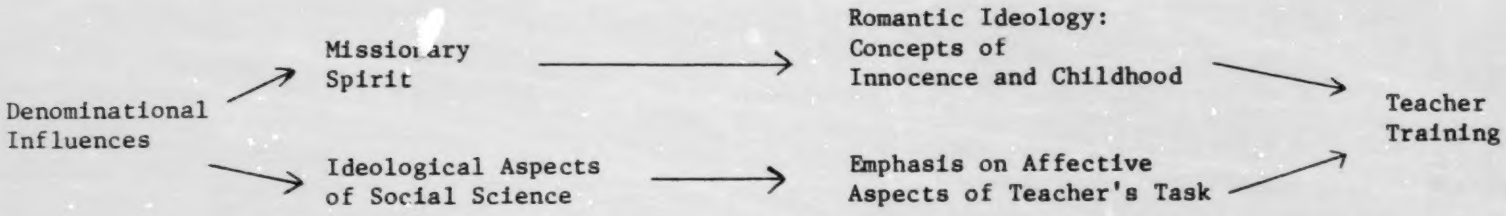
Denominational Influences
Missionary Spirit
Ideological Aspects of Social Science
Romantic Ideology: Concepts of Innocence and Childhood
Emphasis on Affective Aspects of Teacher's Task
Teacher Training

Figure 30: Bernbaum's Analysis of Religious Ideas in Education

The essential difference, if not quarrel, we would have with his theoretical analysis, is that he puts the onus on the teacher's college training programs.[13] We did not know the Bernbaum position when we interviewed; consequently, we did not push hard in such directions. The items which our people kept raising, before we had any image of "educational reform as secular religion" were the important experiences in home, school, church, and more informal but influential settings that influenced them. For many of our group, the teacher education programs were either brief, non traditional, or in some instances, non existent.

Also, late in our inquiry, we found Cremin's account of "the Kingdom of God." Perhaps if we had known more history, and perhaps if we had focused on the label "reform" rather than "innovation," and perhaps if we had been more clever, we would have seen more quickly and understood more thoroughly the historical complexities of "educational reform as secular religion." In his history of American education he comments in this fashion

> The missionary efforts of the Congregational church were promoted not merely as saving particular souls but as vouchsafing civilization in the Ohio Valley; and the burgeoning common school systems of the several states were promoted not merely as imparting literacy to the oncoming generation but as guaranteeing the health and safety of the Republic. It was surely a form of what Daniel J. Boorstin has called "booster talk," but it was surely more as well. For it imparted a millennial tone to the rhetoric of American education that profoundly influenced its politics, reinforcing a relationship between the fortunes of education and the future of the Republic that would endure for several generations.
> (1980, pp. 12-13)

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[13] Also important for later inquiry are the potential differences between teacher education in America and the United Kingdom. We have not tried to even scratch the surface of that issue.

Later, Cremin both specified and generalized the perspective further:

> The Biblical metaphors were neither ornamental nor even prudently didactic, they were of the essence. It was in the language and substance of religion that nineteenth-century Americans pondered the meaning of their individual and public experience. What in fact did it mean to be an American?.... But American preachers, mindful of their historic responsibility for articulating and celebrating the common values of their society, were not content to let the matter rest there. Rather, they took it as their fundamental obligation to fashion a *paideia* appropriate to the special role that the new nation would play in human and divine history. If America was to be the setting for the building of God's kingdom on earth, the values and aspirations that Americans needed to share could not be left to chance: they would have to be carefully defined and vigorously nurtured. (1980, p. 17)

And still later, Cremin's more cosmopolitan, New York world may have caused him to miss the fact that some present day bottles carry stronger vestiges of the old wine.[14] He commented:

> The language of this early discussion of the philosophy and politics of education can be deceptive to present-day Americans--the concerns seem narrowly theological to the contemporary ear. To nineteenth-century Americans, however, the rhetoric was not only appropriate but absolutely essential. For two thousand years, the public values of the West had been thought about and articulated via the language and categories of religion; it should scarcely be surprising that a people who saw themselves charged by God to create "a new order of the ages" would continue to use such rhetoric as they defined who they were and hoped to become. (1980, p. 18)

Finally, Cremin comments:

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[14] Also, too, we may not be the most appropriate individuals to comment in this fashion. Smith spent four important adolescent years in Charles Finney and Asa Mahan's "the special version of Christian sanctification known as Oberlin perfectionism." Kleine grew up in a Missouri Synod Lutheran farm family in Southern Illinois.

> The purpose of that education was to energize the child, to set in motion a lifelong effort toward self-culture, or the harmonious growth and cultivation of all the human faculties in the direction of their divine manifestations. Insofar as the teacher had responsibility for assisting and encouraging such effort and the knowledge and ability to do so, he was entitled to the highest possible respect from society--his office being "the noblest on earth," more important even than the minister's or the statesman's. Further, insofar as growth toward the divine was the end in life for every individual, all associations and institutions were to be judged by the extent to which they stimulated such growth and reformed so that they could advance it. (1980, p. 32)

The reference to Channing raises dejavu feelings about "fully functioning Freddie" in the Kensington jargon, and illustrates Cremin's conception which he labels "paideia."

We have not raised as much as we should the rural and small town origins of our faculty. Although important in its own right we view it here, more simply and briefly, as one of the social interactional or cultural "mechanisms" linking the kind of religious traditions raised by Cremin from the nineteenth-century to the belief systems of the twentieth-century Kensington faculty. The agrarian culture interlocked with the culture of main street on the middle border. Atherton (1954) phrased it this way:

> The God-centered, small-town code emphasized man's immortality. School and home both paid obeisance to God's plan and God's laws, for everything fell within His master plan. From McGuffey's Readers the pupil learned that Jesus was above Plato, Socrates, and all the philosophers, for He was a God. Evidences of His power and wisdom existed on every hand. McGuffey proved this with simple stories. (1954, p. 67)

And:

> CHURCH, SCHOOL, AND HOME thus furnished education for *heart* and *mind*, a process which involved the teaching of an

> extensive code of morality. Without doubt, this fitted best the needs and desires of a pious, church-going, middle-class society. For such people, the McGuffey code was both adequate and right. In their estimation, it underlay decent society in this world and salvation in the next. (1954, p. 72)

The Milford/Kensington staff were the beneficiaries of these traditions and values.

In short, we have an unfinished, open-ended essay on "educational reform as secular religion." We believe we have illustrated well our subpoint or "the complex nature of belief systems." As educational innovation shades into educational reform, the people who are attracted, as were our Kensington administrators and teachers, carry the residuals or present day manifestations of some historically important traditions in American life.

## 5.3 Origins, Development, and Transformation of Belief Systems

As should be obvious by now, the phenomenon of belief systems in the life histories of our Kensington and Milford teachers and administrators is complicated, to say the least. So far we have tried to indicate that true belief, an interpretation from our earlier study, was not in error. Second, true belief has continued over the years in forms we have labeld purist, pragmatic, and critical appraisal. Rather than being a malleable easily changed item in one's personality, our 20 innovators seemed to hunt for places to actualize the point of view and to experientially broaden and deepen the commitment. Third, we tried to show that educational reform was intimately tied to religious beliefs. This seemed an intricate secularization of religious beliefs over time on the one hand and a contemporaneous coordination and isomorphism on the other hand. Perhaps more simply, causation and correlation seemed intimately mixed.

Now, we raise a further part of the tangle--sources, origins, and development of belief systems as we focus upon other aspects of our interview data and our attempt to order those data into sensible patterns. Eventually we push toward a model we call "the experiential funnel."

### 5.31 Early Origins: Family and Community

We continue to introduce new members of the Kensington faculty, and extend our acquaintance with others. Elaine Ross and Tom Mack are the initial foci.

Elaine was a highly talented, creative primary teacher who worked intensively and with sophistication with puppets, drama, story telling and a variety of manipulatives. She drew the following comments from Smith and Keith in the original study:

> The rooms themselves are currently taking on the decorations and structure of an exciting primary department. Elaine has brought along a puppet booth and literally dozens of puppets that she works with very effectively. She gave us a demonstration of the alligator and a pet dog.
> (Smith and Keith, 1971, p. 77)

During the interview for the present study, Elaine shared the sounds and sights of literally hundreds of puppets which take up an entire garage. Her talent and interest in "the story as teacher" rippled through the interview tape. Her excitement with manipulatives has led to a very full schedule as a free lance resource consultant for teacher workshops in Language Arts related activities.

Her moving story helps explain her love for children and the origin of her talent and interest as she describes a classic family pattern--lack of money and abundance of love which seems to foster a sparkling creativity and impassionate concern for the less fortunate.

> Elaine R.: I was born in Wyoming but I was only there until I was three-- most of my growing up took place in Wisconsin, in the middle part of the state. I was a middle child with a brother six years older who is now an Episcopal Bishop of Nebraska and I have a sister who is six years younger. It always seemed that I was around younger children on the farms near us and I can remember conducting circuses, getting all the kids lined up to do all their acts and making costumes and I did that from the time I was knee high to a grasshopper.
>
> I went to a one-room school the entire eight grades. I remember I was very active in our church group--I was the leader of Youth Groups and we'd put on Fun Fairs and came up with all these gimmicky things. High School was a scary experience. It was a big high school and I cried every night and wanted to stay home. I hated it, hated every minute of it--from a big frog in a little pond to a little frog in a very big pond. They had basketball and volley ball and tennis--I had never held a tennis racquet, I had never played basketball. I was so jumpy as if I were still playing hop scotch. There were the kinds of games we played with the little kids that were in school and I was still playing Ring-Around-the-Rosey. We were a poor family and my skirts were shorter than the others. My mother made all our clothes. I never had a store bought coat in my life--Teddy Bear coats were in that year--I'll never forget--I wanted one in the worst way but it cost eight dollars and I didn't get one until Spring of the next year. I had gold rimmed glasses and when the recent metal things were back in style, you could not have paid me to buy them because I had such a terrible feeling about those gold rimmed glasses. So there I was--a funny bumpkin, skirts were too short, gold rimmed glasses, and home-made clothes. My mother did a beautiful job of sewing, but you know, it just wasn't the thing.
>
> After school was terrible. I carried a lunch part of the time, but then dad said that he could work it out so that I

could buy my lunch and after that I got in with some friends and we all went downtown after school and had cokes and malts and things. I would not have any milk with my lunch so that I could go down after school with them and I always bought a coke because I couldn't afford a malt. I claimed not to like malts--of course, I dearly loved them.

I can remember those days so plainly, that is a really kind of vivid time in my life, but I remember I have never known--I really thank God for this--I have never known a home without love. I'll tell you a funny story to show you what my parents were like. When I was in first grade, the teacher read a story about a bunny that fell down the basement window and crashed into the coal chute and couldn't get out. I cried and cried and my brother who was in the same school in eighth grade--(He was advanced a grade when they moved to Wisconsin) was embarrassed to tears. He asked the teacher if he could take my reading book home so I could read my stories ahead of time so I wouldn't cry at school. And when dad came home I was still crying and sobbing "and Bob's ashamed of me." The whole story came out and dad picked me up and put me on his knees and said, "Yep, now if I had been you in this spot, I wouldn't have cried about it, I would have thought--what can I do to help that baby rabbit? Now how could I solve that problem?" And he picked up a newspaper--mother hadn't read it yet--and he rolled up the newspaper and he cut a hunk out--out of the middle, over half-way and cut a piece out and you can extend each end of it and make a ladder. "Now, if I had been thinking about that, I would have done this, I would have made this ladder and put it out the basement window so his mama could rescue that baby rabbit. So, the next time you have a problem that makes you sad, stop and think--if you were in that situation, how would you solve it. And how would you get out of it, what would you do about it? If you can't do anything about it, then go on with something else."

I have never forgotten that piece of advice. I use it to this day, I don't know how many times I've told that story. And mother sewed for us and we'd have our dresses ready for whatever--a wedding--and when time came for daddy to come home from work, we'd model. We'd meet him at the door. We'd go through all this and we'd do a description about our dresses and I'll never forget one that she made was an aqua with brown and white on it and daddy picked me up and put me on his knee, I loved to sit on his knees. His knees were just the best things in the world and he taught me (name of song). To this day I cannot say the name of that tune without tears welling up in my eyes. That's my family. The whole family--we were poor--we were a beautiful family.

It is risky to attempt any adornment of the rich brocade of this interview. The reader may note, among others, the following points:

> 1) The blend of economic relative deprivation and intimate love in the family setting.
>
> 2) The high value placed on education and creativity within the home.
>
> 3) The father's role in developing instrumental channels for the high degree of effort.
>
> 4) The development of a keen eye and ear as a result of being the "...little frog in a very big pond."

Tom Mack, Kensington's curriculum materials coordinator, now an elementary principal, has been in and out of our account at several points. He, like most of the others, "talked in quotes":[15]

> My grandfather came here from Germany--he had been a mail carrier, he was an officer in the Prussian Army, and he left there before the Kaiser came into power because he could see what was coming. He trained for the mail service and Illinois seemed like a very good place to be for him and he liked it. My dad left middle Illinois, during World War II, before he finished high school, and the reason he did was that my family at that time was German speaking. They went to German Lutheran Church and the scapegoat that year was the Germans, so he hopped a freight and went to the southwest. He was there a year and a half with no education and he became general manager for the northwest area of the South Bell Telephone Company. I was raised in a small town in that kind of situation where my friends and the people that we ran together with were the banker, the president of the college, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and so on and so forth. That was the class I moved in.
>
> From there Dad went to the city and he became one of the three top executives in the telephone company. It was a highfalutin kind of a job--take the big military installation outside of

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[15] In the life history essay in our methodology volume we analyze in some detail the quality of interviewees who have reflected upon and ordered their experience in ways which bring vivid meaning into their, and our, accounts.

the city--he planned and designed that telephone service for the whole place. And there again, we moved with that class of people. Except my dad had a kind of funny philosophy. He figured that, damn it, it wasn't his responsibility, he didn't need to give me anything, and that I should learn to do everything, so a couple of years while I was growing up, we lived out on an unimproved farm. He bought it, lock, stock, and barrel, including the stock, and we went out there, and we lived there for two years. We learned how to live.

And then the next year though, he decided that we ought to know how to run a restaurant, so he started leasing the farm and bought a restaurant. A real big restaurant, right across the street from the biggest high school in the city. I managed that restaurant until I went in the service. Dad used to say the birds have the right kind of notion; when they get old enough you kick them out of the nest. If they fly, okay; if they can't, okay.

You asked how I got interested in multi-cultural and multi-racial schools? You know, my dad would pick up with anyone. We always had people working for us, you know, Black people, German people, whatever, but he never treated anyone as servants. They came in, ate at the table with us and took part in family activities and so on and so forth. There was never that looking down on others.

I think my military service, when you come right down to it, is one that contributed a lot. You know, I always liked people, and maybe my military service did more than anything to meet different people from different parts of the world, and like them as individuals. I met a lot of unusual individuals from different parts of the country. I remember for awhile one of my best friends, when I was in Boston, was a Chinese boy, came from San Francisco, and there were four of us running together. A guy named Joe Powers, he was from Nebraska, and then this Chinese kid and a Black guy from Boston, and you know, we were pretty buddy-buddy all the way through, working on our engineering degree. I don't know what, I like people, and one reason I like schools like this is that all the kinds are beautiful. Like the one at Bradeley, my P.T.A. president was a White woman who was married to a Black man. Her daughter married a Chinese doctor, and it was her daughter's children who went to our school. They were the prettiest kids you ever saw.

Another reason I think as I do is that little ole town I was raised up in was a Blue Law town. We had our Blacks, we had our Indians, and so on and so forth. But they lived outside the city limits between sundown and sunrise, and they had their communities out there. And I--I always did think that was a kind of bad deal for them. One of my best friends was a guy named Billy McDavid, and Billy McDavid's daddy was a

Cherokee Indian Chief and he is a full blooded Indian. He worked for the telephone company while I was working for the gas company and so we got together and after I got to know him awhile, I learned he was raised on the reservation. And damn it, the guy, he was a smart man! The government said he was no good for anything but farming and that is what they would have done to him had he not gone into the service. And he learned a trade while he was in the service, metal work, and so on and so forth, and he is now in charge of some of the vocational education programs in the city, but at the time I knew him, he had a tremendous deficiency in mathematics, and he would not have gotten through school if I hadn't tutored him almost every night. I just see what that kind of stuff does to people, and I saw what happened to my family and I talked to my grandfather, and my wife's family is the same way, they came from Germany too, and my own experience. I didn't speak any English until I went to school, and I went there from kindergarten to fourth grade and there were three of us in the whole school and they sent us in little short pants and that sort of thing. We didn't know any English and I had to start learning it, you know. Now the people, the neighbors around us, spoke it, but I just didn't get out of the home that much. My mother spoke German and my dad spoke German and when I started school, to show you my dad's funny way of thinking, said, "If I hear you speaking German again I'm going to strap you," and he did, two to three times, and I stopped speaking German.

And the religious experience?

Yeah, I think the thing that got me thinking about religion more than anything else was not my dad who was not a very religious man, nor was my mother as far as that goes--she was a Baptist and he was a German Luthern, and oh, granddad told me that during World War I when they closed the church, soldiers actually came into the German Lutheran churches, and this was in Illinois, and told them that they could not use German literature and they could not give their services in German or any of those things, and grandpa said some of those people felt so badly about that, that they didn't think God could hear them unless they talked in German.

So, I thought, you know, that was a pitiful thing, and some of my experiences since then have been the same. I remember once I was giving Communion in a church camp, when I was down in Texas at the end of a weekend retreat, and these were all seniors in college and seniors in high school and freshmen in college and I forgot to bring the darn kit, you know, with the little cups and things in it, and so I madly looked around and found some little Pepsi Cola sample cups, and I went in and got some wine and I also got some unsalted crackers, but you know, out of 28 kids there were 19 of them that refused to take the sacrament because it was not in the proper kind of container, as if that made a damn bit of difference!

And so, I guess my whole life as I read in the Bible and I studied, you know I'm going to say something as an educator you probably can't accept, but I don't go in for a lot of this psychological gobble-de-goop that comes out. Everything that you need to know to solve your problems, if you think about it, is right there in that Holy Bible. There are no new concepts on how you cure yourself or cure others. There are new medications, but as far as the positiveness of the thought process, so on and so forth, it is, it has been there all the time. And so, knowing that that was true, or feeling that that was true, I just felt a compulsion to get it across to people whether in a secular sense or within the framework of the church.

Other influences?

The illness that I had might have had something to do with it because I felt that I was very lucky and owed something. When I was a junior in high school, no senior, yeah, it was in February. I got, or I had always had rheumatic fever off and on, you know, during my life, and I got what my old doctor thought was the flu. But then I went into a coma, and when I got sick--I was the same height I am now--I weighed about 180 pounds, and in good physical shape because I was on the swimming team and the water polo team, and things like that, but I got this and I went into a coma. I liked my doctor so well, you know, he was an old German doctor, that my dad stayed with him until I became really serious. I had been in a coma for about three weeks, and so he finally just said, "I don't care what Doc says, I am going to go get some different opinions." I went from 180 to 106 pounds, was in a coma for a little over a month and a half, was in the hospital for three and a half months and was home in bed for another six months.

When I joined the service I weighed 146 and I remember old Doc Forest, who was a heart specialist and had worked on me. I called him up and I said, "Hey, I passed the physical", and he said, "Okay, I won't squeal on you, but something is going to happen to you one of these days", and then when I made the paratroopers I called him again and told him. He said, "Okay, but you are going to drop dead one of these days", but I didn't. Now where this fits into the story--I had a lot of time to read and you can't help but think when you go through an experience like that, that maybe something is lined up for you to do, you know, and you should not waste it. God gave it back to you. Like I said, I enlisted in the Airborne troops--I saw 37 months in combat. Out of the 608 of us that went overseas, only 18 came back.

Yeah, when you come back, you start thinking. I had an uncle who became an alcoholic. He went through the war and he came back and he figured because of when he went through, the world owed him a living. I was so damn lucky, felt so lucky to be

> back and alive and with all my health, that I figured I would do something with it, and that is a kind of a quasi-religious feeling. And I feel it very strongly.
>
> As for getting into teaching, I came around-about route. I was taking a course in analytic geometry at Boston University in the Army and, you know, they would bring us a darn thing that has 37 mm. of stuff in it, and say there are seven elements in there, and you have to tell them what the elements are and what quantities there are. This is all right, it is a good exercise, but I couldn't see it. I was sitting there running through this darn test and I couldn't see myself doing that the rest of my life. I told my wife to be, "You know, I don't want any part of this." So when I got back I decided that I would go into history, but I started looking at people with history degrees, and what the hell are you going to do with it as far as making a living? So I changed my mind and went ahead with the history but picked up a business education and decided also that I would become a teacher. The only reason I wanted to work for the gas company is because my father and my wife's father thought anyone that went into education had rocks in his head and could not make it anywhere else, so, damn it, I showed them in a year and a half that I made it to where I would have been in another year and a half at the top echelon in that particular area. And then I said, "The hell with you guys, I'm going to do what I want to now", and so I started teaching.

No other interviews yielded the intricate twists and turns of early socialization in belief systems comparable to this rendition but the fragments were apparent throughout our study.

Although a number of inferences and generalizations might be made from these two life history narratives, we will settle for just one. Personalities of innovative educators are not stamped out of simple, uniform technically correct forms a child rearing and schooling. On the one hand that seems so obvious, but on the other hand the contemporary cries for minimum standards, for back to basics training, for standardization of schools and classrooms seem everywhere in the educational literature.

### 5.32 Professional Roots of Educational Ideology

Each faculty member has their own important and idiosyncratic story to tell. Within those narratives we have attempted to discuss subthemes and patterns. Here as elsewhere we have tended to let one or two long accounts carry the thread of the argument and to supplement it with nuances and counterpoints from other life histories. Eugene Shelby, Kensington's Principal, traced his ideological roots in the following manner. Not only have we made every effort to let each person tell his or her own story, but as we reconstruct those aspects of early socialization or early professional careers, we accent what the participant feels is most salient. The specific answers vary but the overall question remains the same:

> How did you acquire the kind of educational ideology or belief system which culminated in your position at Kensington?"

The patterns find their own mode of expression and identity:

> Obs: Well, I keep wanting to swing back around on the earlier part. Do you want to tell us a little bit how you got involved with Kensington in the first place?
>
> ES: Yeah, kind of a pre-Kensington perspective?
>
> Obs: Either kind of starting at Kensington and working on back or starting...
>
> ES: Let me start back and work up.
>
> Obs: Okay.
>
> ES: Boy, it is hard to put 50 years in three hours.
>
> Obs: Half a century.
>
> ES: Yeah, half a century, that is right. Well, my childhood was, I'm going to start way back there. I was a depression child and we were very, very poor but we had social status in that, you know, my family, my father's people had been there a

ES: long time. His father was a county judge so they were respected people. So in terms of self image we had that, but we were very, very poor.

Obs: Where was this?

ES: In the hill country of Southwest State, not too far from Border City. You have heard of that. Beautiful country. It is somewhat like some of the country around here--I hope you can see some of it tonight maybe--the hill country. There is a geological fault that extends from where I was reared, all along to the edge of the State Capital. But, I think basically, I always had a lot of inferiority, feelings of inferiority. I don't know where they came from or why I had them, who knows. Possibly one thing is that my birthday is in August, and so I started to school which I was barely six, and then when the State went from an eleven to a twelve year school system, I was skipped a grade. Although that didn't happen state-wide, it happened where I went, and then we moved to the Big City. But the point I was going to make is that I was always the youngest in my class, always. I graduated from college when I was still 19, I was almost 20, but I think that may have had something to do with it. I don't know.[16] Be that as it may, I went into teaching. I really don't think that I saw it as a career, but I didn't know what else to do. I saw it as a stop-gap measure. It was not going to be my permanent career.

Obs: You majored in elementary education?

ES: Yes.

Obs: What school?

ES: Well, I went to State University. I actually started as Pre-Med. But that was just at the end of the World War II when the competition for getting into med school was very, very keen, and when I graduated from high school, I had only one general science course. But I really--I really--I would say, culturally impoverished. I had never traveled any, we

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[16] Although we did not systematically check it out, a number of the Kensington staff were accelerated in elementary or secondary school and graduated a year or more early. We are inclined to agree with Shelby's anxiety, fear of failure, need achievement type hypothesis. Another inference which is well supported in the literature is the relationship between acceleration and general intelligence. The reader will recall that Terman, when hunting for gifted pupils, always looked for the youngest child in the class. When developing his group intelligence test, Otis validated items on their discriminality between accelerated children and retained children, those young for their grade group and those old for their grade group.

ES: were very poor, very parochial. Where I was reared is very poor. It is agriculturally--the land has almost no value. They raise sheep and goats. This was the main industry and that did not bring in much money.

Obs: But you were on a farm?

ES: No, we lived in--we lived on the outskirts of a very small town. A town with a population of about one thousand. Very conservative.

Obs: But your grandfather had been a judge?

ES: Yeah, but that didn't mean much though.

Obs: And your father worked on one of these ranches or farms or...?

ES: Sometimes he did, strangely enough. But he is German, and there were five boys and four girls in his family and for some reason, I mean, his father would give the girls every advantage. The girls go to college, and none of the sons did.

Obs: No kidding. You are talking now about your father's family?

ES: Good people, good salt of the earth people, but that is the way it was. My father was postmaster when I was little, and that was a political appointment, and there was a change of administration and he was out. Well, he was, or he had been, county surveyor even when he was a minor and his mother had to go down there and sign the papers for him, but he didn't make any money on that. He sold real estate. But later on during the second world war we moved to the Big City and he worked at the Air Force base. You might say a defense factory, but that is not what it was. Then we moved back to the Small Town and he went back into the post office, and we stayed until he retired. But anyway, when I went into teaching my first year was in Big City, and then I went back to Small Town and taught--went to work on my Masters, and then taught in Small Town and where as my first year of teaching had been horrendous and I said I would never teach again, I got married and the baby was on the way, so you know, instead of working on my Masters I just went back to teaching. This school was a very different kind of school and it is one where I really felt a lot of success and really got into it. But I remember that some of my cohorts--I guess I was the only man in the school--in fact, I was the first man who had ever taught at that school.

Obs: In Small Town?

ES: Yeah, there were not many men teachers at elementary schools. There were some ladies there who were teaching and I got along very well with them, and they said, "Eugene, you ought to be a principal," and in my honest reaction was one of really a compliment. "Who, me?" I held principals way up here on a pedestal, you know. I think that is fairly significant for me to say this because it really was true and it was not for several years before I recognized that, you know, that that might be the thing to do. And the thing that did it for me was when I realized some of the needs, and I felt that I had some of the ability that it might take. I guess I'm saying that I felt that I had something to offer, and it was not until that point that I thought, hey, I would like to be a principal. It would have been a compliment, but I saw it as being way up here, high status, and I guess, the kind of person that I am, until I felt that I really had something to offer, you know, I didn't see about getting that role. So I went in and told the superintendent that I was interested in a principalship and I guess in the spring or that summer he named me to a principalship of a small school, sort of a training ground was what it was, a teaching principalship. I was a full-time teacher, as well as a full-time principal. He, at the time he employed me, told me about a training program at the State University, called FEA, he said that he thought I ought to go there. It was, or it would be good for me. Well, I was a principal in that school for two years, and here again, my motivation went up. As a teacher before that, when the school bell rang or when 3:30 came, boy, I was gone. I might do some homework, but, you know, I didn't have a key to the building, or you know, it was just a job. But I became a principal and boy, I was up there on Saturdays trying to find out what was going on, and what was up, and making plans, and doing this and that, so here again, my motivation went way up. And I worked really hard at it. I also had had some great enlightening teaching experiences. The Small Town schools fostered a pretty progressive approach, and a lot of the teachers would say, "Well, we have learned how to play the game, you know, we can go and do our thing and then we can put something on the bulletin board, and when the supervisor comes around, which rarely happens with supervisors, but anyway, we can act like we are doing all this stuff, but then we can really go back and just teach the books." But a lot of the focus was on group work. I had never heard the term group dynamics in my life. They called them committees. But I was so amazed at some of the things these kids could do, I could not believe it. They knew a lot more than I did about a number of things, and I would learn with the kids and learn from the kids, because the kids were sixth grade kids, who were really turned on about learning.

Obs: This was your teaching principalship?

/ ES: No, this was prior to it, and one of the things I failed to say is that I went to another school district for one year, and didn't have anything like that going on. I saw the need for making some changes there which were not allowed, and I guess that is when I started seeing how important the principal is in terms of either allowing some things to happen or even causing some things to happen.

Obs: Let me get the time now. You had a year in Big City teaching?

ES: Which was bad, that was junior high school.

Obs: Then?

ES: Then two years in Small Town, which were really great years, and then a year of sojourn in East State, which was because of a family situation. We thought we were going to move that way, but it didn't work out, so we came back to Small Town.

Obs: At that time you became the teaching principal?

ES: The year away from Small Town made me realize that good principals were needed and I might have something to offer. Coming back to Small Town and teaching another year and then becoming a principal. And this teaching principalship--my predecessor--if he had to go to the principals' meeting he would send his kids to--you know, divide them up in groups and send one group to one teacher and give them busy work to do. Well, at first I would do that but I was gone so much because I was expected to go to all the meetings and everything, so I started using some new ways. By the way, this was a slum area school. It was one hundred percent Mexican/American.

Obs: One hundred percent?

ES: Yes.

Obs: How many teachers?

ES: Six.

Obs: One in each grade level. And you had the sixth grade and were the teaching principal?

ES: Yes, but also being principal, there wasn't anyone who could tell me what I could and could not do there, and I found that these kids--this was the worst slum area in Small Town. It was a nice building, it was a fairly new building, but everything else about it--that was the only thing that it had going for it. But finally, there were kids that could not

ES: read at all and I thought to heck with teaching and reading out of this book and I started involving them in a lot. Well, I came to several realizations. One realization was that I had spent several years saying to kids, "Keep quiet, keep quiet, hush, shut up, so I can teach you how to communicate." (Laughter)

Obs: Without realizing that you were teaching them that.

ES: And I felt good. Gosh, the verbal language is by far the most important, and one of the cardinal principles of school is that--they are told that talking is bad. And by the way, if you think that kids don't believe that, they do. Talking. Students--they want to talk, but they view clearly the school as, you know, I'm bad if I talk. So I realized the folly of that and started changing that. The other thing is that I had been saying for years, don't help each other. I meant don't cheat or don't help each other in wrong ways. And I really changed that. I said our job is to help each other as much as we can. Then we talked about getting helpful ways to help or even proper ways to help, but another thing was recognizing the--I don't know too much about this--but a lot of teachers know it intuitively, some don't know it at all--but that is utilizing the power structure of the classroom and creating one that can be positive. You know, prior to that, on the first day of school I would ask several questions. One is what do we celebrate on July 4th?, or what is the name of that holiday? what event are we commemorating. No one ever knew. And normally I said, "Did you have class officers last year?" and they said, "Yes." "Who was the president," "So and So," "What were the duties of the president? What was the purpose of the president?" You know, what it always was? To take names when the teacher was out of the room. But anyway, essentially I, without even knowing the words group dynamics, moved into kind of a group process mode of instruction and used a lot of involving activities and a lot of verbal stuff. I remember one kid who was a couple of years over age--I guess he was about 14--he could not even do anything on the achievement test. I had a lot of kids that were at rock-bottom. He could not read or write. By the end of the year, that particular kid was reading. And I would have to say, "Hey Rudy, put your book away, it is time to do something else." But a lot of it was also the positive reinforcement. That particular kid--when I would talk about things he would make some contributions and the other kids would say, "Hey Rudy really knew!" Always before his self concept was low, so I think that had a lot to do with it too. But it kind of sold me on some new approaches to education and so after a couple of years I thought well, I think I am interested in going into that summer FEA program that the superintendent told me about. So I applied, then had to be selected and I came to it. Jim Nott was the director of it, you know him or do you know of him?

Obs: I don't know him personally, but I know of him.

ES: Well, I came here because I felt like I wanted to get something out of it, but I didn't come to impress anyone or to get any better job or anything else. And it was one of the finest experiences that I have ever had. I really learned a lot from it. It was exciting, again a group process, again totally different.

Obs: FEA stands for...?

ES: Foundations in Educational Administration.

Obs: I'm not familiar with that. Was that for this state?

ES: They have had it for about 30 years. He started this when he came here in 1953, '52, or maybe '51.

Obs: Connected with the University?

ES: It is at the State University. They have it every summer, and they have had it every summer since 1951 or '53.

Obs: And it is designed for practicing administrators?

ES: No, it is really not necessarily--although sometimes. You know, I was a beginning principal—sometimes they get beginning principals in it, but it is really kind of a recruitment for a handful of people who want to pursue their administrative certification. Or in a lot of cases, it has been kind of getting people into a doctoral program. And people who have gone through that are just all over the place, college professors, superintendents, you know. I don't think Steven Spanman was in that, although he very well could have been a good example of someone who had been in it. But it was operated on a completely different principle. You know, I guess it was the first formal education course I ever had where the purpose was to--well, the student was professor, if you will. He was there--in a responding mode, the professor there was to help you, was to please the students instead of vice versa. That is probably not a very good description of it but I came up with the idea that why--well, first of all the experience that I had had as a principal in this particular school, where I found that you really could get groups going. I'm going to tell you, there were times when I would go to the principal meetings and leave virtually the entire class in the room working for three hours--this was sixth graders. Now, I had kids who had been in reform school, and there were times when I would have to take maybe one or two individuals and send them to another teacher, but then I would try it again, and if they would make it then I would leave them, but if they didn't the next time they knew that I would have to do that. We used the paddle a lot. I don't think I would do that if I

ES: had it to do all over again. But, you know, I used a lot of authoritarian measures, but at the same time, turned over a heck of a lot of responsibility to them. And their achievement test scores were up. People who had gone through FEA--there is a FEA association, they still have an annual reunion and annual Christmas newsletter.

Obs: All of the people who have been a part of that over the years?

ES: Yeah. I think all except one participant has rated it as the best educational program that they have ever been in.

Obs: Wow. The summer program itself.

ES: It is just a summer program. It is a nine week block of time. You meet from 8:00 to 4:00 or 4:30, whatever it is, I don't remember the times, but it is an all day thing. There is just a few--Jim Nott is in charge of the first few days--but after that, the class has to organize itself, has to determine its own objectives, and has to determine its own activities, and what or how it is going to proceed, with about four or five mandated requirements. I guess it was those two experiences by and large that gave me the commitment to an alternative approach. Another thing is that in FEA we had some people from the social psychology department. I don't know anything about that, but they came over and did some exercises with us. I had never heard of National Training Laboratories, I had never heard of group dynamics and human relations was caught up into that because that was to mean race relations, so we did also study some of the content of social psychology that dealt with some of these concepts. And I guess basically I was interested in creating a model that would rely on some of the findings with the behavioral sciences in terms of group dynamics, the Hawthorne Effect. I had never heard of the Hawthorne Effect either. There was something magic about that program, you know. What is it and what can we find that can be applied in an elementary school?

There was one other thing that may not be very important in factual information to you but is meaningful to me and that has something to do with my own personal motivation. I did not come to FEA when the superintendent told me to. It would have been. you know. I could have said, well, the superintendent instigated it. When I applied for a principalship he said I ought to look into the FEA and I could have said my chance for getting a principalship would be better if I go to FEA, so I'm going to apply for it. But instead, I went when I was ready for it. My best friend in Small Town had been very active in Toastmasters. I could no more get up and make a speech than anything, but he used to try to get me interested. I would not go. I was not ready for it. But at one point about three years later, I was ready for it and I joined Toastmasters for

ES: a year, and I felt that was a very meaningful experience for me. The point I'm making is that if I go into something for personal gain it does not seem to have nearly the impact for me as if I go into it out of a more--of a--and I don't mean altruistic either--because that is not it, but just more of a development, you know, because it is the right thing to do, because I'm ready for it. I did not give many speeches at all when I was in Big City, but when I came back to Southwest State I was in a position where I had to give a lot of speeches. I became the main speech maker so I really had to work on my speech skills. I learned something. Whenever I'm making a speech or trying to impress someone, I bomb out. When I have a message, a sincere message that I want to give to someone, because I think that it will be helpful to them, then I'm not thinking at all about how I'm doing, that is when I tend to do my best job. My career has kind of been that way. People are constantly saying, yeah, this is a good stepping stone. Heck, I was not interested in it as a stepping stone. I have seen people who were very talented people and typically I saw a guy, no matter what job he was in, he was capable of being tremendous, but he was always looking at the next job.

Obs: You mentioned something that you were not particularly interested when Spanman first contacted you because you were planning to go into college work. Wasn't that a rather sharp departure? Because I have not really heard you say anything before about that. Was it the real excitement of the two years of graduate school, sort of turned you on?

ES: Yes.

Obs: So you were planning, thinking about being a professor of educational administration?

ES: Yes. I was really sold on the kind of stuff Nott was doing.

Obs: Yeah, talk a bit about what you saw, what role you saw for yourself. Was it the excitement of that time? I'm kind of identifying with that because my own graduate school was that kind of heady experience also. When important people were saying, "Hey, you can make it in this league." It was a very heady kind of experience.

ES: That was certainly true for me, there is no doubt about that.

Obs: You had spoken earlier about this accelerating shot or peak experience of Kensington. Was this one of the big, fueling or igniting phases of that?

ES: Yeah, oh very definitely. There is no doubt about it. You know, sometimes if I'm called on to make a speech, my immediate reaction is to find any excuse that I can find to decline. Other periods in my life, if I have been asked to give a speech, I thought, what an opportunity. Now there have been periods in my life that have been one way and periods that have been the other way. You know, sometimes when I'm kind of reaching out, and others when I'm pulling back. I don't think this happens to everyone. I'm not generalizing, certainly not to the same degree that it has for me. I think maybe it is kind of a, you know, less stable personality trait, you know, more dependent on external forces. I think I'm a person who needs much more reinforcement than someone else might, although I have learned to cope with it, like being president of our administrators association, you know, I get an awful lot of guff. There was a time that that really would have bothered me. It doesn't anymore, certainly not like it did. But I know I fish for compliments, I used to, I think I still do. I do, I do. And you know, I'm probably more susceptible to that, so anyway, the two years when I say that I got nothing but positive reinforcement, I think made a real difference with me. Now I'm probably affected more than others, and I suspect everyone, well, I know everyone is.

There is a very significant thing in my life that I don't mean to get into an awful lot, but when I was in college, it was--I was a small guy--I didn't grow up having real good relationships with my dad. I did in later years, which were very rewarding to me, but when I went to college, I fell into a situation that was really good for me. I was--I became--I worked for the Chairman of the English Department, who was State University's most renowned professor, a really phenomenal person. He was in his 70's at that time but he became a surrogate father to me. And even after he was 70 he embarked on a project to build a fabulous building in honor of Robert Browning--he was the world's foremost authority on the poet Robert Browning. And State University has the library, it is just a tremendous building—the ceiling in one room is 23 carat gold. The front doors back in 1950 cost $15,000. They are cast bronze, but it is really--it has the most outstanding collection of stained glass windows in the United States.

Obs: It sounds like a cathedral.

ES: Yeah, that is what it is like, it is. But he was a person who always--always was espousing Browning. "Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?" So, when I say religious or moral, I'm talking about that kind of thing. You know, where a person is supposed to do something with himself.

Obs: What about the early aspects as far as religious socialization? Had you been active as a child?

ES: Oh yeah, I grew up in the church, oh yeah.

Obs: So you had a very strong religious background, coming from your mother perhaps? Was she a very deeply, devout religious person?

ES: Yeah, my family--my father was not all that active himself, but his mother was the pillar of the church, and when you say devout, to me that implies more inner qualities.

Obs: Yeah, I guess that is what I do mean.

ES: I, you know--I have come to realize that a lot of it was there can be devout behaviors as well as devout beliefs. My mother was a very devout Baptist, and I'm not meaning to take away from her spiritual devoutness either, but I would say that in a small town like that I grew up in the church, that is a better way of saying it.

Obs: You were active in youth groups, Sunday School, and church function?

ES: Oh yes, oh yes.

Obs: But that socialization was very important and meaningful to you up to and...

ES: Then when I went to college I went to a Baptist college, I swallowed it hook, line, and sinker. I became, but in a more meaningful, very personal way, in fact, I began even then to part with some of the church traditions, but I mean to tell you that I--and I don't mean a fanatic--but a very--I read, of course, we were encouraged, you always should read the Bible every day, so I started getting a meaning that was very different for me than it was for most other people. But it was very meaningful.

Obs: But you had a very religious personal life?

ES: Yeah.

Obs: Then it seems that this experience with the Professor, sort of linked in with that, was that sort of a gradual shift to more of a what? A humanistic value structure, or am I over reading his kind of...?

ES: Oh, I don't think he changed my religious views any. He added a dimension.

Obs: What did you do with him?

ES: The thing about striving, striving, striving.

Obs: Oh, did you work for him or were you an assistant of some kind?

ES: Well, his affairs were all intertwined with the University affairs. He would probably be sent to jail today, but well, that is kind of a long story. But anyway, I was employed as a part time secretary for him, he had a whole pool of secretaries, except that that included--I became more of a valet to him. But he had one son, whose name was Max and he frequently called me Max, which tells you something. And he was in his 70s. He was kind of a little bit lame, and I would walk him home every day, and I would drive him to the barber shop, and I would--he would invite me over to eat lunch with him, and I had never seen a maid before. Eating there with silverware. He was a most unusual person. He used to wear hand-me-down clothes. The bank president gave him suits, (laughter) to wear, and he would give them to me and I wore his hand-me-down clothes. He--there was a biography written about him during the time I was there that--where he would have holes in his shoes, and he would fill them with cardboard. He wasn't going to pay money for new shoes, but he might pay $10,000 for a tablecloth to put in the Library. The house was filled with treasures--he had been to Europe thirty or forty times and he had audiences, and his idea was that greatness comes with being associated with great people, so he had audiences with Mahatma Gandhi, or the Queen of England or the King, or whatever.

Obs: How did you get on with him? How did you get hired?

ES: Well, because I needed a job and had applied at the campus placement center. I was the only person I suppose that ever worked for him that hadn't gotten it because they were English majors trying to get in with him.

Obs: I was going to ask, you did not major in English. You did not particularly--did you take much course work with him?

ES: He kept nagging me until I finally did take his course, so I finally took his course, but anyway, that's...

Obs: So he was a very critical figure in your achievement orientation and...

ES: He was an influence figure.

Obs: Towards some kind of general success, and I presume setting high standards at the same time?

ES: Yeah.

Obs: What were your--I was thinking of your own schooling. Experiences with highly innovative school is not that great. You acquired a lot of this just on the job.

ES: You mean as a student?

Obs: Yeah. Sometimes people have one room in a small school in rural areas, and yet they are highly creative and open and innovating. Was there anything about any aspect of your own experience as a student?

ES: Absolutely not.

Obs: Very traditional, very texbookish, very...

Obs: Did you go to a one-room, three-room, six-room school as a kid?

ES: Well, up until, you know, when I was in elementary school it was a one-room class for each grade level, so it was like when--well, they had taken what had been the old, old, old school and made it the elementary school and built a new high school. So I guess there--I guess elementary school went up to the sixth grade. There were six rooms in it, and that was the first grade, second grade, and we had about 20 to 25 in each grade. A lot of teachers, and of course, they were all friends of my parents, and you know, I always got along well with them.

Obs: Were you a good student during those years?

ES: I always thought so and I made good grades and that kind of stuff. I graduated from high school as a salutatorian. Well, that was not too much out of 25 people, but...

Obs: So your high school had 150 kids, grade seven through twelve or something like that? Had about a room full for each grade?

ES: Right. And I didn't know that I didn't know anything. Of course, I made all A's, but I was so dumb--I didn't know that Europe was a continent--I thought Europe was a country.

Obs: You have--the curriculum again--if you say you were very limited...one year of science, couple years of math or...?

ES: Yeah, I had algebra. See, we lived in Big City for four years. I went to junior high school there, a large school, and one year to high school, then we moved back to Small Town.

Obs: So you had your last couple or three years in...

ES: Last two years...

Obs: Last two years in Small Town.

ES: But in terms of school influence, I want to say, you know, I told you how bad my first year of teaching was. My second year was in a school in another Small Town where I had done my student teaching and it was an old, old school that was in a--what was becoming a slum area--but had been known as the Silk Stocking school for many years, but when I was there I was the first man who ever taught there. The principal had been there for 30 or 45 years and was a phenomenal lady, who was a good friend of the Professor and she thought that I had hung the moon. And here again, I got a lot of reinforcement there. But it was a school that was really different. It was one that was for kids. My educational philosophy--I know, the first year I taught at Big City I bet I gave 500 paddlings. The principal told me on the day out there that you need to give some paddlings and they will know that you mean business. All through the day, whop, whop, whop. All up and down the halls. It was a terrible school. When I went there the next year and had kids that knew so much, I don't know that it was an innovative school as such--they didn't have team teaching and they didn't have non gradedness, but there was a pervasive atmosphere about that school. Oh, what I was going to say, the first year, I remember reading in the newpaper one day some educator was saying that schools needed to be more responsive to the students instead of having the students always have to adjust suddenly to the schools. Something to that effect, it has been 25-30 years ago, but I was incensed that anybody would write something like that, why of course not. Schools should not change to fit the students.

Obs: That is what schools are for!

ES: Yeah, now, I went from that kind of philosophy to do a, you know, flip-flop. I'm not saying on that particular issue a total flip-flop but in terms of my philosophy, I did a total flip-flop.

Obs: From when to when.

ES: Well, I think the School in Small Town had a lot to do with that in learning, hey, you can trust students, instead of seeing students as the enemy. Okay, that is one that was a flip-flop instead of seeing an adversary relationship--between the teacher and the student--to see a facilitating, helpful relationship.

Obs: So that school was probably the only positive experience that you actually saw and modeled after, rather than other schools where you created your own solutions. I'm thinking of your teaching principalship--you did not really see such great teaching as you came up with solutions of your own for particular problems.

ES: But there was nothing innovative about that school.

Obs: No, but there was a quality about the respect for students that somehow struck you and...

ES: And trusting students.

Obs: They happened to perhaps accommodate into a somewhat more structured, traditional way to that. The other thing that is hitting me I guess, and I'm trying to check, is that earlier in Big City hundreds of paddlings and whatnot down the hall, what--I get the feeling that of a kind of a strong Baptist moral sort of stance.

ES: Uh huh. The principal was a Baptist deacon. The one who told me to give some spankings that day so that they would know that I meant business.

Obs: I guess that that didn't do any violence to your own Baptist background as it were.

ES: No, no, as a matter of fact...

Obs: Well, what I'm really trying to get toward is, was part of the shift that came in terms of educational philosophy, is there a corresponding shift in the religious philosophy or orientation? Because it has a kind of a heavy punitive old testament kind of ring to what I'm hearing, and the kind of things that culminated at Kensington has a much more...

ES: No, I think the religious change had already taken place several years before, when I started seeing, you know, the Bible teachings more for what they were really. I think it is just that I had not worked through the intellectual change to accompany it.

Obs: Okay, so that was underway.

ES: Probably.

Obs: And that heavy paddling business was kind of the last stand of that earlier religious sort of thing that was now evolving into...

ES: Now, I have a lot of paddlings even when I--you know, I told you--when I was in teaching principalship thing. Where I was relying so much on the kids and trusting and all, but if they got beyond, I gave them a lot of latitude, but I said we do have fences, and if you go outside of these fences then...

Obs: you just widened the fence.

ES: Yeah.

Obs: They still got walloped when they got out.

ES: Yeah.

Several points appear significant about this rendition. First, there were aspects of early socialization which appeared to shape a personality structure and leave a firm imprint on a young, rural Southwest State boy. Second, the culmination of this socialization prepared Eugene for three experiences; one in college and two in his early professional career which seemed to give form and substance to his educational ideology. Let us consider each of these points in turn.

The poverty of early childhood was contrasted with an incongruent social status which was a legacy from a grandfather's judgeship. Feelings of inferiority, triggered by starting school early and remaining the youngest child in each class were remembered clearly. A sensitive nature, low self esteem as a child and a strong need for reinforcement were legacies of this socialization. Strong religious orientation of particularly a mother was reinforced by a small, highly conservative community. Choice of teaching as a career appeared to be one of default and the first year of teaching was seen as "horrendous" and only the necessity of providing support for a wife and expected child seemed to keep him in the classroom for a second year.

An experience during his college days provided Shelby with what he termed an "influence figure." He referred to his small stature and a less than adequate relationship with his father as significant factors looking to a low esteem. While at college, he became closely related with a highly respected professor in his 70's who became, to use

Shelby's words, "...a surrogate father to me." His mentor preached, and more importantly, lived Browning's famous line, "...a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?" The striving for quality left Shelby with an increased sense of self worth and a taste for excellence which he credits as being of utmost importance in shaping his world view.

Against this backdrop, the first positive professional experience in Small Town takes on added significance. The only male teacher in the elementary school, he achieved "a lot of success and really got into it" and additionally was singled out as administrator material by teaching colleagues. After several years of teaching, the post of teaching principal became available and this experience was singled out by Eugene as one of the two professional experiences, "...that gave me the commitment to an alternative approach." A full time teaching principalship required him to be absent from many class hours and, born out of necessity, it provided a makeshift laboratory to test assumptions about freedom and control, structure and flexibility, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation which were to become important building blocks of his eventual ideological edifice. Through trial and error, the trusting relationship which he had observed in highly structured settings was now being tested in a less structured environment with poor Mexican/American kids rather than the children of the "silk stocking" district previously observed. Coupled with the traditional paddlings, great gains in achievement and perhaps more importantly, real strides in self initiative and high self esteem were noted in these students.

The student growth, coupled with the bolstered self-confidence from teaching colleagues seemed to add toward a second experience which was named as the other significant event in shaping his ideology. Several years prior to this, his superintendent had suggested he attend a summer Foundations in Educational Administration (FEA) program at the University of Southwest State. It appears significant that only after Eugene had experienced success in the classroom did the idea of attending a workshop devoted to innovative experiences appear appealing. The strong experiential contribution to the ideological development might be elaborated or enumerated by reading or scholarship but rarely did Eugene appear to acquire insights intellectually and apply them to practice. Usually the insights were gleaned from practice and then legitimated through reading or study in the more formal sense. It appears only fitting that this personal experience should shape his stress on practical, self initiated, hands-on experience.

The nine-week intensive experience of FEA is credited as having made an outstanding contribution to Eugene's growing belief in the need for change in the learning experience of young children. The freedom, self direction and trust established in the workshop setting appeared to be an ideal setting in which to forge the essential ingredients of the ideas which were to emerge in Kensington as the "institutional plan."

The two ingredients often cited as important contributors to reform do not appear present in this case. There was neither a powerful positive model in early childhood which inspired a malleable youth nor was there a painful early educational experience which fueled a necessary change. In this case it appeared that early socialization created a readiness for early professional experiences to have their shaping effect.

## 5.33 Complex Transformation of Belief Systems: Reasoning Follows Intuition

The very phrasing of the topic, "complex transformation of belief systems", suggests the conceptual thicket into which we have wandered, and the kind of attendant difficulties that are provoked. To this point we have argued for the necessity of concepts such as beliefs and belief systems. Further, we have made a strong argument of the need for a distinction between the content and the structure of belief systems. Third, it has seemed necessary for a distinction between belief systems and other aspects of personality, eg. temperament, ability, energy level.

The "complex transformation" part of our sub heading will lead us to Rokeach for another set of distinctions, then on to several additional implications. But first we need to present Mary Radford's views which stimulated these ideas. In our discussion of true belief, we argued that the faculty sought out experiences that were similar to the Kensington experience. This proactive self determining aspect of the staff members' actions is a major finding regarding personality influences on innovation. After her year at Kensington Mary moved to an adjacent district, in part because of her husband's urging and the exhaustion from her year at Kensington. As she said:

> Mary Radford: Well, I was up until 2:00 every morning doing, you know, doing school work, getting packets ready--we had about 13 skill groups for our two levels and we thought that was individualizing and perhaps it was and, you know, we were just really keeping up with every child every day, every hour --like, my basic set up was a huge table with all the work piled up.

She commented this way about the school in an adjacent district to which she had moved:

> MR: Okay, well, I just wanted to tell you that I felt--I don't think I was hired at Rains Road because of being at Kensington. It was a different situation and all that, but I believe that while I was there some of the things that I did probably were a reflection of Kensington. I think I was respected for that, mainly being able to work with other people, and, you know, sharing ideas and working together with the classes and that type of thing. Right before I left he had wanted to take a wall out--have a wall taken out between two primary rooms and combine the first and second and do a team teaching thing there. He had asked me if I would do that.
>
> Obs: This is your new principal at Rains Road?
>
> MR: At Rains Road, you know, and be the team leader. And I really had to give that a lot of thought and, you know, I felt that was challenging and would be fun and I told him I'd do it. And then we were transferred so he said no, you know, I'm not going to do it now because you're the only person that I have right now.
>
> Obs: So that was a direct spin off really from your experience in that kind of arrangement at Kensington so...
>
> MR: Yes--I'm a rather low key person--I didn't go in and say I have all this experience.

Mary Radford then moved across the country because of her husband's job change. After part of a year of golfing and resting, she began substituting, then moved to full time, and then ended up helping begin and teach in a school with remarkable similarities to Kensington. The Vista School's brochure could have come from the same pod as Kensington's brochure:

> Vista is an open plan school, and is essentially what the word open implies. It's open to students, to teachers, to the community, open to new ideas, new organizational patterns for instruction. It's a controlled openness, deliberately designed to support the instructional program and its organization through large and small open area spaces. This gives the

> design and the program a common feature, flexibility. Each area has a flexible physical arrangement which supports the teaching program to meet the individual needs of children. The teaching strategies maximize the concept of team teaching, which the staff interprets to mean a mutual sharing of ideas, materials, students and individual instructional patterns.
>
> Support the flexibility of the building is the organizational pattern of students and teachers, enhanced by a variety of staffing alternatives. Vista was selected as a pilot school under state legislation allowing the waiver of standard class size without the loss of apportionment funds. This offers the staff the freedom to plan their program with maximum use of paid instructional aides, college student aids, volunteers, parttime teachers, consultants, high school aides and cross age tutors. Such freedom gives teachers an opportunity to further personalize the learning experiences offered to each child. (Doc. 1981)

In the interview, her phrasing was this:

> Obs: I'm intrigued by that notion--can you make some more comparisons of Vista and Kensington. You started talking about the staffing--you said in some ways you had seen a similar pattern of closing down...
>
> MR: Okay, a similar--back to the staffing--we had a staff much like Kensington--people who were just so committed to this idea of innovation and individualized instruction and children being able to learn in a way of discovery and observation and make choices, you know, wise choices within the framework and that type of thing and we had team teaching and we had some people who were excellent teachers. We didn't really departmentalize but at that time we had a little more money, because of the special funding. So we did have money for some science equipment that normally we don't have and a person in charge of the program. We had people who were--I guess they were students and instructors who had been just fired up by her to this type of education and wonderful people, just great, very close to children.

Ironically, perhaps, some of the same issues of parental concern which had occurred at Kensington, forced the shifting of Vista School policy and practices to a more conservative, back-to-basics stance.

One of Mary's long term colleagues, and former team member at Vista, entered the discussion and made a comment regarding the faculty at Vista School:

> I'm glad you said "was" because it has certainly changed and it's theme--it was based on a lot of things, it's very difficult to put it down into one particular sentence but I think I could start by saying they wanted to call it "kid country" and I think the basic theme was that the people who were chosen to be there were people who felt good about themselves--people who respected the next person, were not judgmental and also in that case because they were not judgmental about other people they also were not quick on judgments about kids and that the ex..., they were interested in experiences for kids which is usually a little bit different than the average school where you're thinking about subjects and you're thinking about just plain skills.

A similar quality and context of the belief systems is readily apparent here at Vista.

Mary's friend elaborated a further point on two of their experiences together and its implications for the success of the program:

> MR: Yeah, we were in kindergarten six years and then the enrollment went down and I went to first grade and then first and second grade--a combination--for two years and--but prior to that we were in kindergarten for six years together.
>
> Friend: Originally when the school opened we had wanted to team together but the enrollment was such because the new school in areas the new homes weren't built up so she taught first grade, I think it was the only first grade in the school.
>
> MR: Yeah.
>
> Friend: And I taught kindergarten and we didn't team but we did a lot of talking together and a lot because we had met each other before and philosophically those were the beginnings I think of really thinking about children and activities and how to extend learning through activities rather than just the pure learning or the just the pure task on our concrete level or an abstract or a paper pencil representative level so we even, before we taught together we did a lot of talking and

> a lot of mutual sharing of ideas. And I think, philosophically I think that's the key in team teaching that it's been my experience now watching other people team that if you're not philosophically together there really is very little that can bind you together in terms of getting a good solid program together.

By way of conclusion, we note this comment of Mary's:

> Obs: Was getting a two sentence, two word answer and we got cut off--I asked you whether your belief system about the importance of certain things in education are very similar now to what it was then.
>
> MR: It really is similar now, and now I am able to understand it better and able to verbalize it better because of the experiences that I've had. I think I mentioned to you before that a lot of us had this feeling or philosophy but it was intuitive because of our love of children, or knowing children around you and most of them do, I think and this is what you want but you, you know, we weren't being trained that way at that time. I don't even know that we are now.

Our hypotheses on the meaning for transformation of belief systems is several fold. Our teachers pick experiences and are picked for experiences which amplify and deepen the point of view. In effect, the experience and rationale follow the intuitions. If that is more generally true, the epistemological consequences are far reaching.

Broadening and deeping seems to mean ability to articulate the position verbally. In Mary's case it also seemed to mean being able to practice, to make it work in additional kinds of settings, that is, with other staff as team members, and with different grade levels of youngsters. This is a variant of our discussion of the nature of experience in hiring an experienced teacher (Smith and Keith, 1971).

Finally, the collegial quality exhibited in the comments of Mary's friend is reminiscent of the idea of social reality discussed by social psychologists such as Festinger (1950) and Berger and Luckman (1967). As teachers come together, talk, find some initial commonalities, "philosophies", they begin to construct a social reality that permits, supports, and extends their initial perspectives, and, in turn, also changes the educational world of which they are a part.

In short, the most striking aspect of Mary's comments, and the item that led us to the label "reasoning follows intuition" is that much of the complex transformation was a process of sharpening, defining, and, especially, integrating the beliefs. The integration involved marshalling further evidence and experience to solidify the interdependence of the elements in the system. Epigrammatically one might say, "make the system more systemic."

These ideas seem to support, question, and raise implications of several parts of Rokeach's position. In several places, but perhaps most vividly, in The Three Christs of Ypsilanti, Rokeach makes a strong argument for the distribution of beliefs on a central-peripheral dimension. As we read him he makes a four level argument which we present as Figure 31.

Insert Figure 31 about here

If we look at our Kensington data and the themes eg. reform as secular religion and you do go home again in terms of these distinctions,

1. Primitive - central, core, basic, taken for granted items
2. Authoritative - deeply cherished, tolerate differences of opinion, tied to reference individuals and groups
3. Peripheral - derived, less important dynamically,
4. Inconsequential - matters of taste and preference

Figure 31: Rokeach's Levels or Degrees of Centrality of Beliefs

a most important generalization appears. For this group of educators, innovative beliefs - team teaching, individualized instruction, are not small inconsequential beliefs. They are much more central. Studies of educational innovation that have a "tinkering", "mechanistic", "simple" quality are missing the point. Schools won't change this way or if forced autocratically won't stay the new way, because the teachers hold beliefs that are too central and won't change so readily.

Second, we believe we have built an argument for the continuing analysis of "mutual adaptation", that is, user alterations of innovations. These alterations would seem to be partly for a fit with the social situation and, from our analyses, with this hierarchy or centrality of belief systems.

A third implication of the analysis concerns the reference groups and reference (charismatic?) individuals. As beliefs move toward the central region - authoritative and primitive - the importance of the school as a community arises. Faculties become stable social systems with values, norms, and golas which grow out of long periods of day by day interaction and activities. Individual beliefs, sentiments, shape and are shaped by these influences. Principals may have charismatic roles in this. Schools come to have identities.[17]

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[17] Volume IV, Kensington Today (Dwyer, Smith and Prunty, 1983) vividly makes these points as the Kensington School faculty has moved toward a more traditional, conservative identity and position.

A fourth point concerns the selection of individuals for the process of educational change, innovation, or reform. At one level the originators of Kensington saw that clearly and selected well. But educational practice - be it innovative or traditional is not just beliefs, it is also correlated actions and skills. The individuals need to be able to do things which exemplify their beliefs in action. Much of Anatomy was about the multiple kinds, levels, and areas where this integration did not happen.

This thread of "reasoning follows intuition" can be illuminated and summarized by rereading our long account in Section 4 of Alec and Margie Thurman. Item by item they seemed to intuitively make choices, that began on farms in the upper midwest that led them in and out of the ministerial life, to Kensington, to a well-to-do private day school, to the southwest, the antiwar communal movement, Ph.D. programs and eventually to State College and St. Joseph's College. In the course of that they developed a comprehensive, reasoned perspective or belief system. Our illustration from Mary Radford's comment, is a similar but more specifically drawn illustration.

### 5.34 The Experiential Funnel: A Model of Developmental Tasks and Belief Systems

Among some educational social scientists these days considerable discussion occurs regarding the nature, importance, and interrelationships of micro analysis of interactional processes in small groups, families, and classrooms and the macro analysis of larger societal forces involved in social change and cultural reproduction. Jules Henry's Culture Against Man and C. Wright Mills' Sociological Imagination were early attempts to raise such agendas. Much of the literature in the new sociology and critical theory have extended those early efforts. Rather than tease our way through that literature, as important and necessary as that is, we must content ourselves with a simple observation. A middle level of analysis of the environment, the culture, the social world, seems important as we view our data. A set of events, broader than the moment to moment micro analytical level but narrower than the broad and large social class, economic systems, or institutional analysis seems to fit the topography of our data. "Middling" is the label we give it. As we read, reflected and analyzed our protocols we were struck by the importance of "life's problems", the middling to large events which seemed to be shaping the belief systems of our group of innovative educators. It wasn't until we read Sue Norton's comments that the concept of developmental tasks re-entered our consciousness. It arose in the context of comments regarding her career and the death of her father:

> Sue N: My professor had recommended that I get into that program 'cause it would be fast--just a year of the kind of thing--kind of program. He thought I'd be interested in without a lot of tedium that goes into some teacher ed programs that go on and on and on. Then as I said, I came here and taught 'cause my Mother was here alone so I came back to live with Mother for three years. Met my husband at that time, decided we would never get together, so I left teaching, left Rocksville, left him, we were not married at the time, and went back to City University again to work on a Ph.D. in teacher training, which is probably the worst possible program, degree program for me that I could have been in. It just in no way fit where I really belonged. My goal was to have something so that I could come home, be with Mother for awhile because it was not easy for her, being alone, she was young and was employed but she was totally alone here. We have no family here at all so she was completely isolated in the midwest.

When reasons are pushed back, an almost infinite regress, a variety of social structural elements appear, and shortly one is critiquing aspects of American society:

> LMS: But no family in that sense?
>
> SN: No family in that sense and I don't know how familiar you are with 52 year old widows whose friends are all couples.
>
> PK: Tough.
>
> SN: Yeah, and you don't have friends when you're a widow in that case unless you have individual--she was the first one widowed in the group and she had acquaintances at the office where she worked but they're not the same as the people that you'd done everything socially with your husband. Very much alone and it was--that was clearly a reason...

Once again, we are dealing neither with absolutes nor with a hard determinism, rather with the complexities, the various contengencies and the difficulties of choices and decisions.

What we are saying seems both obvious and profound at the same time. First, just in the course of being a human being life presents a series of problems, tasks, experiences which an individual must cope. At its simplest one is born and one dies. Along the way one grows up in a family, with parents and frequently siblings, one goes to elementary and high school, and sometimes college. Later, one must find a way to support oneself, to decide about friends, spouses, children, aging parents, and so forth. In part, these tasks are set biologically and, in part, by the culture. These influences also frame alternatives for the resolution of the tasks.

Some years ago Havighurst (1948, 1953) analyzed and presented clusters of these "developmental tasks" from early adulthood, middle age, and later maturity. Figure 32 presents these.

Insert Figure 32 about here

More recently Erikson (1950), Gould (1978), Valliant (1977), Levinson (1978) and others have brought the complex issues of adult development to center stage. Psychologists had recognized earlier the powerful effect of child development and adolescent stages but have failed to see the power of adult developmental tasks on life careers and life decisions. Clearly, for Sue, marriage, parenting, and the death of her Father were significant events which can not be omitted in the equations describing career patterns and belief systems.

Beyond one's biology and one's culture setting the tasks which are, at the same time, both discrete and interrelated items, we want to argue that, for our population of individuals there occurs a cumulative self selection as well. People position themselves in different ways for the later biological and cultural problems and options--the developmental tasks. Overall, this positioning or coping we have labeled the experiential funnel in that it constrains, cumulatively, the direction of one's life. The aspects of life history we have focused upon are belief systems and careers. Figure 33 indicates our view.

Insert Figure 33 about here

A. Tasks of early adulthood (18-30)
   1. selecting a mate
   2. learning to live with a marriage partner
   3. starting a family
   4. rearing children
   5. managing a home
   6. getting started in an occupation
   7. taking on civic responsibility
   8. finding a congenial social group

B. Tasks of middle age (30-55)
   1. achieving adult civic and social responsibility
   2. establishing and maintaining an economic standard of living
   3. assisting teen-age children to become responsible and happy adults
   4. developing adult leisure-time activities
   5. relating one's self to one's spouse as a person
   6. accepting and adjusting to physical changes of middle age
   7. adjusting to aging parents

C. Tasks of later maturity (65- )
   1. adjusting to decreasing physical strength and health
   2. adjusting to retirement and reduced income
   3. adjusting to death of spouse
   4. establishing an explicit affiliationg with one's age group
   5. meeting social and civic obligations
   6. establishing satisfactory physical living arrangements

Figure 32: Developmental Tasks of Adulthood
(after Havighurst, 1953)

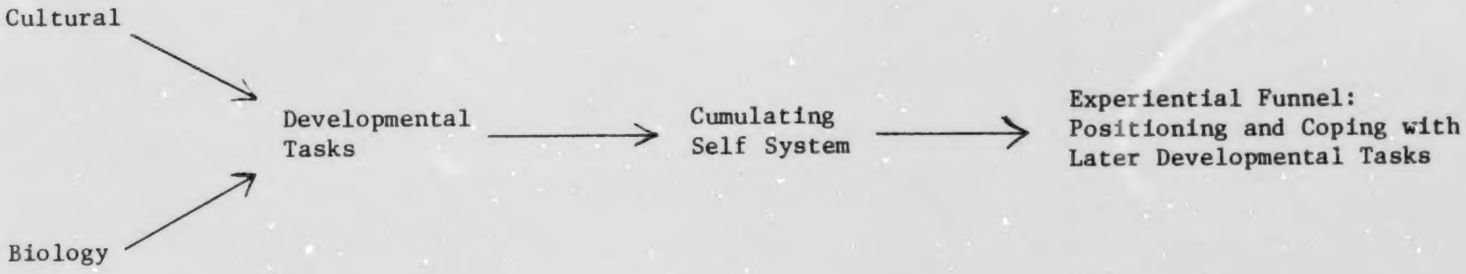
Cultural
Biology
Developmental Tasks
Cumulating Self System
Experiential Funnel: Positioning and Coping with Later Developmental Tasks

Figure 33: Developmental Tasks and the Experiential Funnel

The conception of experiential funnel allowed us to synthesize and to integrate other aspects of the origins, development and transformation of belief systems in the lives and careers of educational innovators. One of our arguments about belief systems is that belief systems, perhaps as with all "systems" are a set of interrelated items. Second, the easy, and important, dichotomies such as the split between the structure of beliefs and the content of beliefs eventually twist and turn into more complicated relationships. Metaphorically, "there's a double helix in there some where." One might say we don't believe (sic) that it's been found yet. Third, the beliefs that have to do with educational innovation, educational reform, and educational change are not simply "tacked on" nor are they easily malleable that any Tom, Dick, or Harry administrator or curriculum developer can juggle or jiggle whimsically for his or her new fad. Some pieces come very early, as some of our group knew from early elementary school days that they wanted to be a teacher or as aspects of nurturance and reform were built into their personality. A chunk of their self concept got differentiated out early.

Fourth, once defined, the individuals, even as youngsters, seem to select and move toward experiences that developed further images and correlated skills, and sustaining attitudes--the experiential funneling of experience. At one level, we are entertaining arguments about the most fundamental construal of human nature. B. F. Skinner notwithstanding, we are a long way from John Watson's early behavioristic rallying cry:

> Give me a dozen healthy infants, well formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select--doctor, lawyer, artists, merchant, chief, and, yes, even beggar-man and thief.
> (Watson, 1930, p. 104)

We sketch out the complications in this aspect of our model of experiential funneling by references to several of the teachers--Kay Abbot, Sue Norton, Claire Nelson, and Bill Kirkham. All of them spoke concretely to items which facilitated our thinking about the model.

Where this funneling is chance and where it is purpose and where it is conscious or unconscious is not clear. The complexities of those determinants seems apparent in Kay Abbot's return to the community in which she grew up, manifestly to get married. She returned also to the school where she had interned as a student teacher:

> PK: You mentioned going into a team arrangement in Hoganstown, and then following that with a self contained class. Do you recall that, any adjustments coming off of the Kensington experience? Did you feel that that was a more traditional setting? Did it, do you have any feelings as you think back on Hoganstown?
>
> KA: Oh certainly, it was a very much more conservative type of situation. I missed it. There are a lot of things that were happening at Kensington that certainly affected my teaching, very positive in terms of what happened. But, it was, yes, far more conservative situation. But it was still a team situation. Although the first thing, I was teaming with the conservative member of the duo that I had originally been involved with. The person whose place I took became a principal of a school in Hoganstown, and has done just dynamic work in innovation in his school. No doubt the most innovative school in the city is the one that he now operates. And periodically we have grade school rehashings of educational theory, and I guess we were always the two that loved to bait one another, and have go-rounds about education. The school in which I became involved had the more conservative member of that team. It has an extremely conservative principal.

Elsewhere we commented that she was "moving toward conservatism."

Also, somewhere along the line an individual needs to learn, so it seems, to evaluate one's basic experiences, isolate them from the less relevant or less intrinsic to the occupation, and build that into plans and decision making. Sue Norton's story continued:

> LMS: You said you had ups and downs as you were teaching here in the self contained classroom, what does that mean? And mostly downs, if I heard you correctly.
>
> SN: Right, you did hear me correctly. I think the reason I enjoyed Kensington was because it was supportive of team teaching situations, I really do. Here in a self contained classroom the things I did very well as a teacher were not six hours a day, five days a week kinds of things. I--my classroom management never was very good. Well, it didn't matter that much at Kensington 'cause someone else was managing at the same time. The things that I didn't do well as a teacher were masked there and when all of a sudden I got in on my own I realized I had 22 kids, 28 kids one year and 29 the third year, that I was responsible for all day.
>
> LMS: And that was much more the kind of creative language arts, as I recall?
>
> SN: Right, exactly.
>
> LMS: One of the things you had a real high on?
>
> SN: Yeah, right, creative writing, language arts, I enjoyed beginning math but I enjoyed--okay, I enjoyed teaching math at Kensington because we made it up as we went along. Here I was plugged into a series, I was plugged into a reading series that I didn't like, I was plugged into a math series that I didn't like. The curriculum was determined by a textbook publisher or a group of them 'cause we didn't have everything from the same publisher but it was very much directed.
>
> LMS: Was it the directed part or was it the multiple kind of responsibilities like classroom management?
>
> SN: Combination, truely a combination--the rewards were so much fewer in the three years I was teaching in a classroom. Oh sure, there were still rewards, I mean individual kids and moments of--that first glimmer when you know their first reading really makes the difference or when he writes his first

> story all by himself, you know, there were highs of that nature but they weren't often enough to make it worthwhile.

The more we talked with our collegial subjects the more our patterns resembled jigsaw puzzles than orderly linear mechanical drawing diagrams. Claire Nelson picks up on a move to "more conservatism" but then her comments detail a more jigsaw puzzle type change:

> PK: I would like to just ask you, as I saw the school today, I was struck in many ways by the similarity of Kensington. Not physically the building but the same type of program, could well have just been both. How do you think you're different as a teacher from 15 years ago at Kensington? I know your teaching is somewhat special to that. But let's assume you were a transition age, how are you different, if at all, from Claire Nelson?
>
> CN: I think I've become more conservative. I'm looking at pupil achievement in a different way. I think I started at Kensington--I was more interested and more concerned about the process and I'm looking more at the product now. Process is important but I want a concrete outcome, I want to see they have progressed in acquiring these skills or in acquiring skills, I think I'm looking for more concreteness and maybe that's the parent in me too, that wants to be sure my child is achieving and is progressing and I need some sort of.....

The tape ran out. We began again:

> PK: A general question. What difference, if any, in your teaching style, teaching philosophy? You had commented that you were a bit product oriented than at that time. You were interested in seeing where the process led and suggested that maybe part of it is parenting. Are there other things that contribute to one's change of perspective in teaching? Other factors that may have helped in that shift? Is it the number of years of working with children or....?
>
> CN: I think some of it is that. Some of it's experience and I'm sure I've picked up on the attitude of our teachers and I've picked up on the attitude of parents and what they're expecting of their school. At the time of Kensington, I was totally immersed in educators and living with educators. Now my world is more predominantly parents who have a variety of occupations and I guess you pick up on these kinds of bits of information that they are constantly either questioning or

commenting on what they see happening in the school that they like or that they don't like and most of it boils down to the teacher. They really like what a certain teacher is doing or the way their child's grade works together or very much hoping that their child has not gotten into a class with a certain teacher and .....

PK: That would argue that parents probably ought to be involved a bit more in the shaping of the school, the curriculum, the teaching of skills, if not making a professional comment at least adding a perspective to it because it seems to have had a lot of influence on you.

CN: And we're getting a lot of parents into the school. We see a lot of them just sitting and visiting to get a better perspective of what is happening. They're talking with the teachers more generally and more frequently. It is a very big thing. Parents are in there, in a lot of cases, serving as volunteers, helping correct papers, helping listen to children read and as they become more familiar with the school, they're a lot more supportive and a lot less critical in a negative, tear-down sort of way. They're critical because they see the good and they want to know why it all isn't good and why all of the children are not having exposure to the teachers they see are really outstanding.

PK: Are there other differences which you have more emphasis on reading or math or science or less or changed or shifted any in the amount of importance that you attached to subject matter or are there differences that were observed if we were watching you work with a group of 25--would we see differences?

CN: I've shifted downward in my interest in working with children. I originally preferred the older children and I'm not sure if it is a factor of being a parent or that I am working more exclusively with the primary age children but I've become a lot more comfortable with them and a lot more interested in their development and I think I'm seeing that if you get a firm foundation and a really good base for attacking reading and you really start an interest in reading, a good base of math skills, that this will take you along into your learning how to learn, into your study of anything you might choose to study. So I think my interest has shifted downward age-wise and I somewhat lost sight of what's going on in the upper elementary grades although I've gotten involved in a couple of District Committees working on program development at the Middle School. So I'm picking up on this again. I guess I'm going to be up about the fourth or fifth grade in my experiences at this point but I'm seeing a strong need for basic skills and after that, you can learn most anything because you've got the tools to learn with.

> PK: What about subject matter emphases? Have they changed? Are they any different in the importance you would attach to any of the usual subjects?
>
> CN: I don't think so. I don't see a real need for a lot of factual information to be tested. This is what you're going to learn and you must know these various facts. I think you learn it or you remember it because it's of interest and it's of that importance to you and I think if the children are interested in learning and they have, again, the tools or the skills to go ahead and read with, to try out experiments, the facts will just kind of stick with them because they've had their hands on experience. I think I'd still like to watch them pursue the depths toward any subject that they would be most interested in. And a lot of it goes back to the teacher. The teacher can turn them on to get excited about their studying. I think the factual content will take care of itself. I've no research or anything other than just a gut reaction to that but I really, truly think that when you have enough internal motivation, you'll take care of the subject matter.

The interplay of parenting, the community of teachers and the community of parents, and the diversification of professional experience with young children, all seem to be pushing the transformation of her professional beliefs.

At the more macro level, in our conception of the experiential funnel, the concepts of environmental variety and exposure are key elements. Environmental variety, as the common meaning implies, refers to the degree of variation from social uniformity to social variation which an individual encounters in his or her early professional life. Many critics of 20th Century American life see an increasing uniformity and standardization of American culture, including schools, as one of the tragic trends of today. In our view, the extreme case does not exist. The innovators in our sample seem to talk about the chinks, cracks, and crevices in that uniformity and their coming to grips with that. Bill Kirkham is not unusual in this regard, for the group of innovators:

BK: I graduated from State Teachers College in 1952, which is a state school. That wasn't an innovative school at all, it was just a straight Bachelors of Science and Education, and I had--my basic training was in science, science education and in social studies. So I ended up with enough hours for a double major in essence and I started teaching in a little town over at Thomasville, which is over by Liberty, just a little bitty ol' town of about 3,000 and I taught there for three years. And from there I moved here.

LMS: Oh, to Lafayette?

BK: To Lafayette, the superintendent at the time was a former teacher of mine and I was ready for a change. I picked up the phone and called him and he said sure, come on, and I taught history here, what I'm doing now, more or less, not the same, you know, courses, but I taught history here in oh, let's see, I came over in I guess the fall of--oh, that would be 1960. I taught three years at Thomasville. I taught here for two years and I left. I was teaching here and returned to State University and began to work on my masters degree. Returned and began working on my masters degree in curriculum development and administration at State University. I'd already begun to develop an interest in administration and curriculum development and when I was in a class with a chap who was the elementary supervisor at Millersville he suggested to the superintendent at Millersville that I be employed and they employed me as an elementary principal at Millersville. I must have...went over to Millersville about, oh, 1962, a couple of years before I went to Milford. I went to Millersville then as an elementary principal and without any elementary experience, which was kind of interesting. The superintendent like me a lot, put me in the best elementary school in the sense that the socio-economic section of town and the clientele and that kind of thing that was really good.

I became very interested in curriculum and began to work in curriculum reform in several areas there at the elementary school for my own knowledge more than anything else. At the time and in conjunction with what I was doing at the University, but mostly for my own knowledge, so that I would know what the elementary curriculum would look like. And I began working in revising the science program, revising the music program, revising the P.E. program. And the basis for these revisions, in essence was to take a real close look at the scope and sequence of what was going on within the nature and structure of the discipline. In the process of doing this, I began, in an ajoining teachers' lounge to the office, and I turned the teachers' lounge into a curriculum room at Millersville. We put 4 x 8' panels on the wall. As Spanman was walking around with his open school model, I began walking around with curriculum models, in a different part of the state, drawing lines and interrelationships and interdisciplinary approaches that became obvious to me. I began talking with teachers about what could be done, as they progressed through their sequential curriculum. This all came about in conjunction with the non-graded schools. Or it all came about in conjunction with, well, Goodlad's book on the non-graded school and everybody's interpretation of Goodlad's book, if you remember, there were many interpretations.

LMS: So you were reading that stuff at the time?

BK: Un huh.

LMS: You didn't know Goodlad for instance, at that time?

BK: No.

PK: Did any of that come out of your graduate work?

BK: State University was still pretty traditional at this particular point in that some of the professors hadn't progressed to Goodlad and even Tyler, they were still following professors who were there on campus. But at any rate I was developing these charts and doing my own studies --interdisciplinary studies--and talking with teachers about ways of cooperating and ways of working together and ways of doing this and I'd worked with several of my staff members and kind of got them turned on. And one day a salesman came by--a lot of salesmen came by in those days—but one in particular came by and he was a representative for the Book Company. And he saw the charts and he saw the work and he said, "Say, you really need to talk to the Director of Curriculum at the State Department of Education." That was in the days when he was curriculum director, I don't know if you remember him or not...

LMS: No, I don't know him.

BK: As State Curriculum Director he put out the curriculum guides for the teachers and they served as resources for discussion and guieds. The salesman put me in contact with him and he came over and they both liked what I was doing so much that he suggested that I go to Chicago where the Book Company was located. I went to Chicago a time or two.

> They weren't chomping at the bit but interested enough to say, you know, keep us informed and they brought us back a time or two. Even before I left the State Curriculum Director said, "Bill, I'm going to want you to come to the State Department and we're going to be getting some Federal money, ESEA is going to be passed and we're going to be getting Title I, Title III, Title IV, and Title V." And he explained all the Titles to me that were on the drawing board and he said, "Bill, I'm going to want you to come to Capital City to work with me, I'd really like you to work with me in curriculum but if we can't swing that, I'm gonna want to get you in one of the Titles so that you can work with innovation and what have you."

Bill's experiences carried overtones of the experiences we recounted in the careers of Kensington's administration and male teachers. At this point we focused a bit differently, although not incongruently with our earlier analyses. Figure 34 captures what we have labeled "exposure" a very important concept in the conception of experiential funneling and the ultimate shaping of belief systems.

Insert Figure 34 about here

Military service is another one of those large experiences which carries a major kind of impact. Bill Kirkham had been detailing his extensive professional experience with the Civil Rights movement. We broke in and raised a question which pulled the following response regarding the military:

> PK: If I could digress for a moment--I'm fascinated first of all, with small town origins and the kind of origins of bigotry, racial attitudes, and so on. You've acquired, somewhere along the line, a great deal of sensitivity to

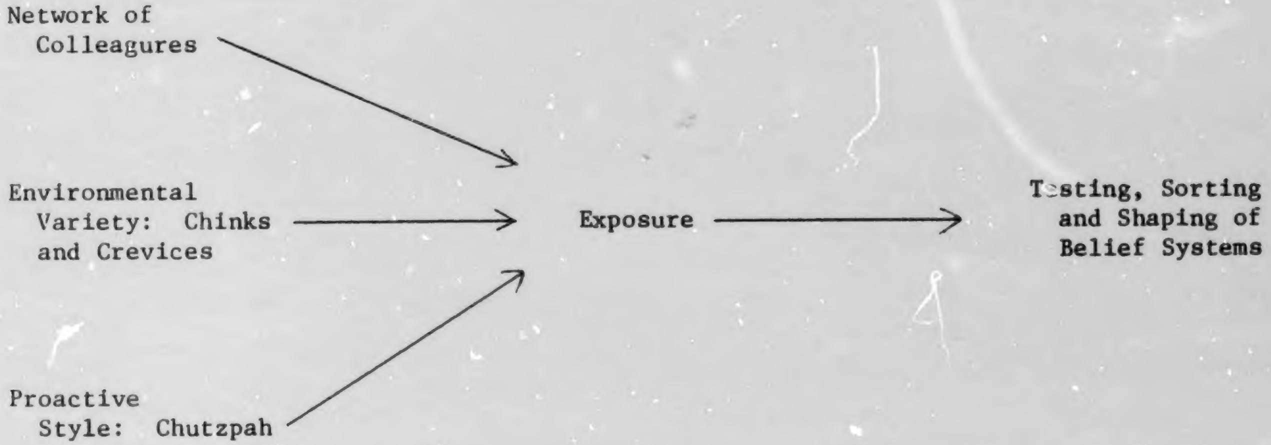
Network of Colleagures
Environmental Variety: Chinks and Crevices
Proactive Style: Chutzpah
Exposure
Testing, Sorting and Shaping of Belief Systems

Figure 34: Environmental Variety, Exposure, and Belief Systems in Kirkham's Life Experience

cultural and racial issues evidenced by the examples of the comments to students as you were walking out or developing a bi-cultural program in Appalacia or dealing with Appalachians or dealing with this. Is there anything back there somewhere in childhood, adolescence because Rural State is not the best place to grow up free from racism?

BK: I went to the high school here. It was a segregated school, I didn't know the Black kids were getting on the bus here and going to Millersville to school, I never thought about it.

LMS: The Black kids from Lafayette?

BK: Yes, I didn't know that in high school.

PK: Just assumed they weren't going to school or...?

BK: I didn't even think about it, you didn't either, probably before desegregation. My best friend in the service was Black. The service was recently desegregated and I met a fellow from Chicago and I liked him and we became friends and he taught me that just because he was Black was no sign he was right or wrong. I kind of look at it this way too, though, and I have over the years, as you know, I came from nowhere too--I mean--I came from the lower socio-economic level, my father was a custodian and he worked for the Railway Express and we lived near poverty all the time.

LMS: Common working man in that sense?

BK: Yeah, when I was growing up I could go to where good parties or bad parties were going on and I could always relate to the kids so I've never had many problems with racial or cultural relations.

LMS: But no big event in your life as it were, in the contact in the service was the first major contact across races and that kind of thing?

BK: No

The richness and variety of the kinds of experiences which occurred in the making of the group of innovators seemed to run through most of the interview protocols. Bill Kirkham had been telling of his experience in the service in the Korean War:

BK: I was at State Teachers College the year before--going into the service just months before the Korean War was over.

LMS: Did you go overseas?

BK: No, didn't go overseas--I completed basic training and completed leadership training for non-coms--leadership course. And the War ended before I got out of school so I was lucky in that respect, for the remainder of my enlistment rank was frozen so I never moved up or anything and I didn't re-enlist or didn't try to go to O.C.S., I was just putting in my time. But I enjoyed it in the sense that I taught in the service--they sent me to leadership school and I got--I had platoons. Then they sent me to C.B.R. school which is Chemical/Biological and Radiological Warfare and I taught that, so I had some teaching experience that goes clear back to my 19 or 20 year old period and I guess that helped to formulate what I wanted to do.

LMS: So that was congruent with what your interest was in science at that time too?

BK: Oh, I guess--well, when I went back to State Teachers College and I was working on my undergraduate degree in social studies I asked myself along the way, well, what good is it going to do? And it was the age when science was beginning to open up, Sputnik and those kinds of changes. I went ahead and took science courses and ended up in a good teaching combination.

LMS: Had you gone to State Teachers originally to be a teacher or did you have any notion what you wanted to do as a kid in high school?

BK: Oh yes, I went to college on a music scholarship--I played in a band here and went on a music scholarship but in my first year I decided not to pursue music and pursued another interest.

PK: Got interested in teaching music initially?

BK: Yes, I thought I would become a music teacher. in the fall of 1952.

LMS: Where did that music business come from? Had you played in school bands?

BK: Yes, I got a coronet when I was in junior high and played and worked my way up to the first chair in the local band here.

LMS: Lessons at school or private lessons or a mix or...?

BK: Mostly at school, we went through three band directors when I was here, so there wasn't all that much continuity. And I didn't really learn all that much music but I could blow fair and at the time I was recruited to go to State Teachers College, and that's what I was really--the lady just came around with a little bag like we all carry and she had scholarships, one or two hundred dollars. It was an incentive to go. I mean you get the prestige of going to a state school and you get a scholarship and they get a recruit. It was a fair trade at the time.

PK: Still playing?

BK: Oh, I don't pick it up much any more--the dogs howl (laughter)--it's sitting in there on a shelf--I like to do it. It's not something that I do much any more.

School band, a music scholarship, military service, and the personal contacts, the chance factors in the timing of the war's end, and an opportunity to teach while in the Army all got built into his experience, antecedent to his teaching and curriculum development efforts.

Finally, when we try to pull the experiences of several of the faculty, and especially with a focus on Bill Kirkham, we find a more elaborated conception of the experiential funnel and the development and transformation of belief systems.

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Insert Figure 35 about here

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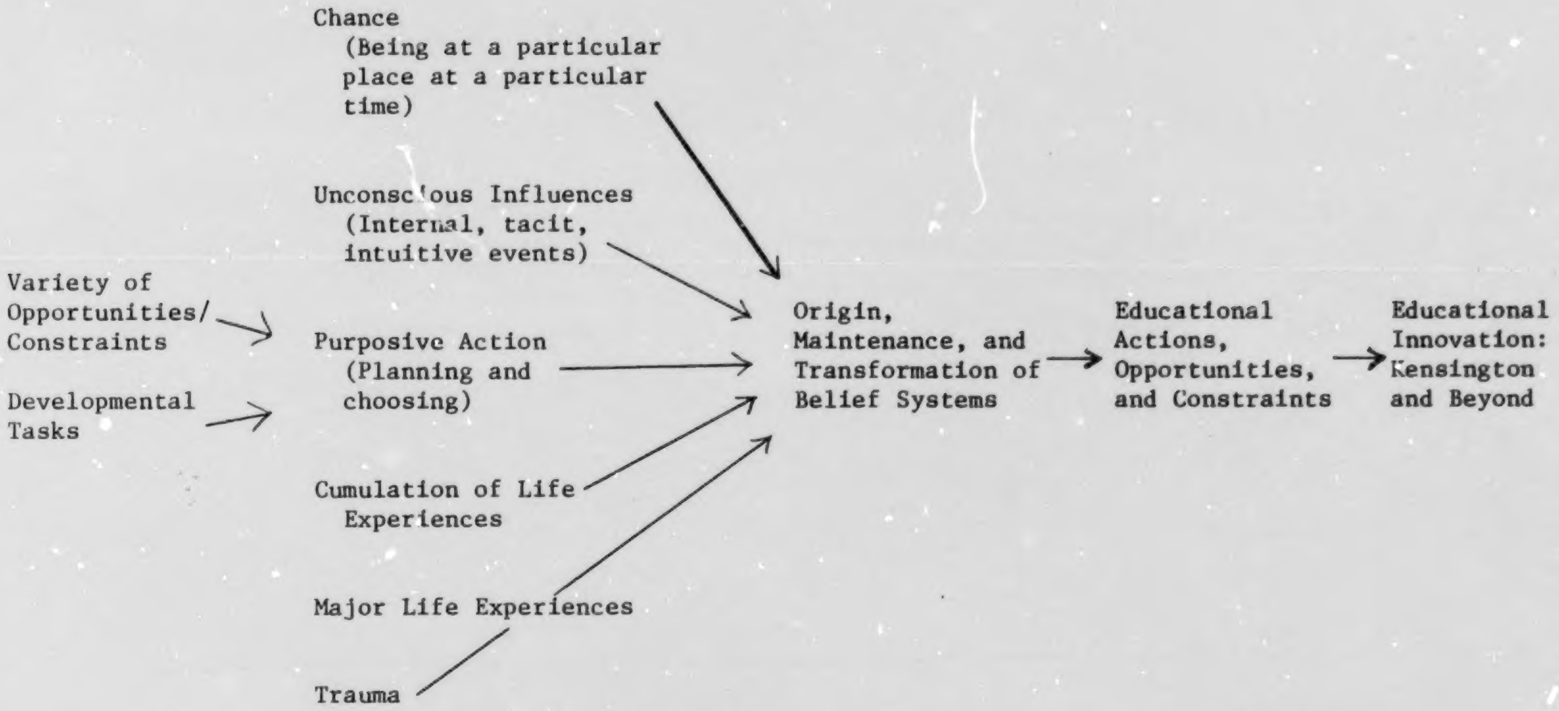
Chance
(Being at a particular place at a particular time)
Unconscious Influences
(Internal, tacit, intuitive events)
Variety of Opportunities/ Constraints
Purposive Action
(Planning and choosing)
Developmental Tasks
Cumulation of Life Experiences
Major Life Experiences
Trauma
Origin, Maintenance, and Transformation of Belief Systems
Educational Actions, Opportunities, and Constraints
Educational Innovation: Kensington and Beyond

Figure 35: The Experiential Funnel: Variety, Developmental Tasks, and Belief Systems in Education

In conclusion, we have been arguing the importance of belief systems in the analyses of the individuals involved in educational innovation. Second, we have focused here on the origins, development and transformation of those belief systems. Third, under the label, "the experiential funnel" we have argued a return to the idea of developmental tasks, a term popularized early by Havighurst (1948) and Tryon and Lilienthal (1950). It is a "middling" conception between micro and macro analyses of social and personal events. It seems very helpful in ordering our data.

## 5.4 You Do Go Home Again

### 5.41 The Anomaly

One of the most surprising and unanticipated anomalies in our research is caught in the phrase, "You do go home again." In the initial staffing of the Kensington School, part of the innovation was searching the country, mostly the middle west region, for the best faculty available, a rare and unusual elementary school staffing pattern. The majority of teachers came from places other than Milford and its metropolitan area. After Kensington, many of the administrators and faculty wandered widely geographically on odysseys or crusades, as we indicated earlier in this monograph. But many, and several in striking fashion, returned home, that is, ended up geographically close to where they had begun. Unraveling this anomaly is at the heart of the discussion in this section.

A related, second puzzlement lies in the mixture of a return to earlier values, attitudes, and beliefs for some and the centrality of early life experiences for others. The image we had was one of childhood influences which would not go away or which kept playing themselves out in the current or contemporary struggles regarding their belief systems, another kind of going home.

A third ingredient to the anomaly is that most, but not all, returned to positions and careers considerably higher in status--Deans, professors, administrators--than their parents, who tended to be "poor, but hard working and proud." It is almost as though, in their return, they had something to prove to themselves, their families, or their communities.

Finally, one of the most interesting aspects of the anomaly in the natural history of belief systems arises in the contrast between two of the off hand labels each of which seemed to capture so much meaning: "old reformers neither die nor fade away" and "you do go home again." The former captures the basic meaning that the personality systems and the belief systems within the personality system are central, pervasive, and long-standing within the individuals. Belief systems are not given up easily.

In short, our concerns began in our initial experiences from fifteen years ago, for in the original study of the Kensington School we were interested in the problem of the genesis of a faculty peer group (Smith and Keith, 1971, p. 6). One dimension of that was the fact that the faculty had come from all over the country, mostly from the Midwest. After the first year most had left the school and the local metropolitan area. They had scattered. A few we had kept up with had "wandered" about a good deal. For instance, we had known that Jerl Cohen, the Assistant Superintendent, had spent time in Washington, D.C., California, New York, and Oklahoma. Then we found that he was now a Dean in the State University from which he had done his undergraduate teacher training in the town he had gown up in. As we found other instances, almost as dramatic, the inference arose, in contrast to Thomas Wolfe, that You Do Go Home Again, that educational innovators and reformers eventually return to their places of origin. If more generally true, this seems an issue of immense proportion. Why would a group of people move to Milford, a place a long way from home for most, to teach in the innovative Kensington School? Why, too, would they wander, in some instances back and forth across the country? What would call them home? What has all this to do with the phenomenon of educational innovation? And for those who are prone to theorizing, what does this return home have to say to or for a theory of educational innovation?

In Figure 36 we have labeled the current geographical residence of each of the group. Those who remained in Milford are in Category one. The next three categories: return to home town, to home state, and neighboring state, are the one's critical for this analysis. In Category 5 are the outlyers, individuals who have moved elsewhere, or, perhaps, who are still wandering.

Insert Figure 36 about here

| Current Geographical Residence | Staff Member | Manifest Reasons |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Never Left Metropolitan Milford Area | 1. Irma Hall | Older, married, prior resident of Milford |
| | 2. Wanda Ellison | " |
| | 3. Carla Young | " |
| | 4. David Nichols | Married, wife had local teacher position<br>Multiple local positions |
| 2. Returned to Same Town | 1. Jerl Cohen | Deanship |
| | 2. Bill Kirkham | Teaching position |
| | 3. Dan Hun | Graduate School |
| | 4. Chris Hun | Prior position, Husband's career |
| | 5. Sue Norton | Ill parents, marriage |
| | 6. Elaine Ross | Marriage |
| 3. Same State | 1. Steven Spanman | Large City Superintendency, University Professorship |
| | 2. Eugene Shelby | Innovative Project, Graduate School, Family |
| | 3. Meg Adrian | Aging Parents |
| 4. Neighboring State | 1. Alec Thurman | College teaching, near to family |
| | 2. Margie Thurman | " |
| 5. Outlyers | 1. Tom Mack | Principal position |
| | 2. John Taylor | University position |
| | 3. Mary Radford | Husband transferred |
| | 4. Liz Etzell | Job opportunities |

Figure 36: Geographical Residence

## 5.42 The Complexities of Going Home

Meanings are communicated in various ways. In this report we have tended to let a single prototypical individual or two carry much of the weight of illustration and explication. In this way the nuances and the idiosyncratic flavor permit the reader to reach a fully developed image or two from which a myriad of interpretations and hypotheses can be generated. As individuals appear and reappear the description becomes thicker and the argument stronger.

Bill Kirkham is one of those "who came home", to the town of Lafayette where he had grown up. He was teaching secondary school in the same classroom he had studied social studies as a high school student twenty years before. At the time of the interview we did not appreciate the importance of the theme. Bits and pieces of his story occurred at different points in the interview and indicate the complexity of the phenomenon. Early on, the interview went this way:

> LMS: But you had grown up here in Lafayette?
>
> BK: Oh yes, this is my home town.
>
> LMS: Born and raised?
>
> BK: Born and raised...
>
> LMS: Your parents born and raised here also?
>
> BK: Close, mother from a little town near here and dad also. And, okay, so I have a strong emotional attachment to the high school. Dad was a custodian here. I graduated from here. I taught here in the early 1960's and so I feel like the youngsters who go here should, have and could, have and will have the same opportunities that you and I, and all of us have. That's one of the big reasons why I like it here.

LMS: Let me—again, this is where our oral history breaks down, we're both more curious. You said your father was a custodian at the school?

BK: He worked with the Railway Express for 40 years and after he retired from the Railway Express he took on several jobs--the effort of which was to gain Social Security.

LMS: Railway Express didn't have that at that time?

BK: No, he wanted to get Social Security in addition to his railroad retirement when he retired and one of the jobs that he took for several years was custodian. It was a job that he enjoyed very much at the high school.

To clarify the one form of the importance of "going home", it is necessary to sketch the kind of oddessey individuals, such as Bill Kirkham, have been on. After his year in Milford he spent two years in Midwest's State Department of Education as a Title I supervisor, then two years as a Title III Directors in a small town in rural Midwest State. A key part of the program there was developing Bi-cultural Programs for the indigenous population and a growing urban population. This put him in contact with O.E.O. personnel and programs for racial integration. Ultimately he went to Washington, D. C. with National Foundation doing community integration work with task forces sent to communities through the nation. Later he lived several years in Eastern State, also working on desegregation issues for a national organization.

BK: With National Organization, all of this was programming --I was the program person--what program means was the utilization of private funds and utilization of public money through Titles to get the National Organization actively involved, and the teachers actively involved, and

> the minority kids actively involved. And if it was desegration money through E.S.A.P., Emergency School Assistance Program, or if it was through ethnic studies or if it was through whatever--whatever federal title or private monies that I could seek out to work with local teachers' associations or schools that were particularly --for example, in the deep South we worked with S.C.L.C. to get a predominately Black leadership in key southern school districts and when that happened we worked with the Office of Education and even the President's office, that was Nixon's office, in developing experimental programs in the deep South, with a superintendent who could show and pilot the way for minority control, in school districts. And, that was only one example of a tremendous job.
>
> LMS: You really liked those years?
>
> BK: I liked them all--I like them all but this was a creative type of job. I was learning and naturally you learn about process and you learn about applications and you learn about titles and you spend a lot of time on the Hill and you learn--you visit Congressmen and you visit aides and you begin to develop your connections and then you begin to bring a lot of those things to fruition. In the process of that kind of an agenda, you begin to develop the Congressional and also education relationships that can bring your programs to fruition that you need to have. Programs throughout the nation, they're fun. There were a lot I could talk with you about throughout the country and that's good.

Our several "themes" are our abstractions from the interview protocols. These "conversations" had a way of meandering and raising two or three issues in interlocked fashion. Bill Kirkham had been telling us about his military experience, his early schooling, and his early work opportunities. The going home theme became a part of this:

> LMS: Your folks pleased when you were thinking of going off to State Teachers College, or had they been pushing that or...?

BK: Oh, not at all--I think Dad has a fourth grade, Mother has a sixth grade education and they worked. I probably went beyond their thinking, you know, when I finished high school.

PK: Brothers or sisters?

BK: No, only child.

PK: Did you always have a vision that you would go on to school?

BK: I don't recall dwelling on it all that much--I had a couple of pretty good job offers when I was in high school, locally--one to stay and work--one to plumb, one to work in the local five and ten, and one at the green house. And I reflect back and say, why didn't I--do something sensible, but you know, I--and I see those places and reminisce occasionally--that's what part of coming back here is all about.

PK: School was pleasant--you were a good student in high school?

BK: Average--I wasn't a good student because I didn't know anything about study habits. I knew nothing of libraries or books or any of that. I had to learn all that when I went to college. I graduated from high school because I think it was the day when social promotions were okay and I went to college when they were recruiting people who had unique talents and they needed college students. My first year at college I think I made five hours of F and seven hours of D. I learned about that in my first year at college.

LMS: When did you find out you had a good mind?

BK: A good mind? I'm not sure that I do.

LMS: When did you find out you didn't have an F and a D mind?

BK: In the service I made up my mind what I would do is to go back to school and to pursue a career that would peak in my mid-forties. Well, I mean, and when I say peak, is--I made a decision as early as when I was in the service that when somewhere between 40, 45, 50 years old that I would bring some sanity or bring some tranquility to my life and that's a part of the decision of why I left Washington to come back.

PK: You'd thought about that back then at age 20? What you wanted by age 45 or 50?

BK: And Milford and Appalachia Bi-cultural Center and all the rest of it was in search of something. And so there was a lot of motivation there. And a lot of the motivation went into that meeting with Eugene Shelby that day--a lot of the motivation. Not necessarily to get ahead but to try to be in the right place at the right time. Motivated or whatever. But at any rate, I wanted to progress and I don't think that my folks have had much to do with it, seven hours of D and five hours of F had something to do with it, a combination perhaps.

LMS: So the Army was after that first year of college?

BK: Yes, during the Korean War I volunteered for induction --take the two year draft during the war--things actually went kind of nice in the Army. I was accepted for leadership school and I was accepted for school beyond leadership school and got some nice recommends in the teaching area. Of course, not that things didn't go well in high school. I was an average student and excelled in music.

LMS: Played in the band?

BK: Played in the band and I had the position of Vice President in the band.

LMS: What did these characters around town, the three different spots you mentioned from the greenhouse to the five and ten--what did they see that prompted them to...?

BK: Want me to...?

LMS: Yeah.

BK: Oh, I think probably a clean cut, nice young man that could be an asset to their business.

LMS: Worked hard--that kind of an image of...?

BK: Yeah, right.

PK: You mentioned that you had some visions of 45 or 50--what did that mean at that time--since I'm 45 (laughter) and I'm just curious—what crossed your mind back then?

BK: Oh, there was no specific...

PK: That you were thinking of having...?

BK: Okay--research or at least the research that I read at the time--articles read at the time, said that you peak out professionally at about 45 or 50--not that everybody does. Reagan may be elected President. I said to myself, okay, that means you're going to retire at 65 or 70 and so wouldn't it be nice to spend some time when your kids are in high school or whatever, to have a home and family and not always be doing whatever else.

PK: So you wanted to have your highly active period and then move toward more stability?

BK: Not to say I'm not going to come out of retirement next year, and this is retirement right now, for me. I'm retired from Washington. I made the decision to leave.

LMS: That was in 1974?

BK: No, that was in 1976--there was another phase beyond National Organization.

LMS: Oh, after that, okay.

BK: There was more beyond National Organization but we're at a plateau.

PK: Is this a good time to break Lou? Or what's your...?

BK: Maybe he's curious?

LMS: Well, I'm obviously curious as all hell, but rather than start in on that next two years and then your retirement period here in Lafayette--you want to quit and kind of get organized and have some dinner some place? It's about 5:30--Looks like your daughter's mobilized to do the dishes and...

BK: Let's go ahead and go through the next phase then go to dinner.

LMS: So you finished up in National Organization in 1974?

BK: Well, actually when in 1974 one of the things we did at National was to cooperate with a number of civil rights kinds of groups, Urban League, N.A.A.C.P., S.C.L.C., Bnai Brith Anti-defamation League, Indian groups, and what have you. And we had what we referred to as an external council and I was very active in this council in that we were trying to, among the civil rights organizations and the organizations within larger organizations like the Y.W.C.A. or the Council of Churches. We tried to work with the educational components of these organizations to determine a civil rights strategy

> that would bring equity to minorities and quality programming. The nation was having a lot of problems with desegregation, as you know. Desegregation was moving north to the cities. Not that desegregation in the south had worked all that well and particularly in the cities. In 1972, about the time when I became special assistant in the reorganization in National Organization, we had a National Conference on Quality Integrated Education, held in Eastern State. It was hosted by the Eastern State group and there were probably 30 groups cooperating with their educational representatives. The conference maybe had 500 people from around the country to look at an agenda of what quality integrated education was in the early 1970's. The result of that conference was working papers developed at the conference, we developed a proposal to the Olds Foundation--and submitted them to the Olds Foundation. And they funded a program for quality integrated education to begin in 1974.

Bill elaborated further on the nature of the program and his involvement in directing projects across the country. Then the story moved back to our theme:

> LMS: Did the Foundation money run out, are they still funding, or...?
>
> BK: No, it ran out.
>
> LMS: And they didn't renew?
>
> BK: They renewed once. They funded us for two and a half years and they renewed to three years and then they told us they were phasing it out because they felt like the catalytic function of our center had done its thing. And we had--we had developed within the institutional structures the capability of responding to the program goals.
>
> LMS: Did anybody try to solicit money from elsewhere to keep it going or was it an idea that, as you say, played out its time?
>
> BK: Well, that's something you put into every grant that we're going to do but it's something also that if we'd have done that we'd have spent the rest of our lives doing instead of our job.
>
> LMS: You mean the fund raising?

BK: Yeah, well, you know, it's a relative question--we got a lot of in-kind--our records are documented with the in-kind of the people, of the places, you know, all the rest, but basically, it was to develop the response strategy.

PK: That seems to be one of the many rich activities you've had that you have kind of a beginning and a middle and an end that really sort of accomplished and you were able to see it through to completion.

BK: Yes, that one was. I was highly honored toward the end of the Project, several of the organizations recommended to Vice President Mondale's office that I join his staff for that function--for similar kinds of functions but that did not materialize.

LMS: So you retired from it?

BK: I found that it was a good breaking point.

LMS: And was that when you came back to Lafayette?

BK: Yes, I picked up the phone and called the superintendent and said, "Hey, I'm ready to do something else."

PK: That abruptly to go from the kind of world of D.C.

BK: Yes, basically, there were other kinds of jobs that were available in D.C. but I didn't want to do that any more.

PK: You just sort of felt run out as far as the large urban...

BK: Well, when that other option came up--the opportunity of going on the White House staff--I told my family that if that came to fruition then I would go, but if it didn't I was going to--it was time to leave.

PK: Again, feeling the tension of the city and the metropolitan life?

BK: Oh, the family thing was really getting quite out of hand--the demands on time, the perspective...

LMS: Sounds like you'd run your tail all over the country all the time.

BK: Yes, really, and--it was day and night and in that sense. Like I said, I might come out of retirement tomorrow, but I also feel like a part of why I'm here is to give these kids their chance to do some of the things that I did.

LMS: Let me possibly intrude...

BK: We walked out of that building at 3:15

LMS: Intrude in the sense and if you want to declare off bounds--was it during this period that you were divorced or was that earlier or does that play into the story somehow? You talked of family in 1975.

BK: In 1975 I was divorced.

LMS: And were you remarried after you came here?

BK: Yes, after I came here.

We returned again, briefly, to job and career issues:

LMS: So you've been teaching mostly social studies?

BK: Oh no, when I picked up the phone and called he says, "Hey, there's no social studies opening. Would you mind teaching math?" I said, "No, not at all, I'm just ready to come back." So I taught two years of math.

PK: Where'd you pick up the math background, was that earlier math science?

BK: Science and what have you--I was certified in many areas--I told him I'd teach math if I could.

LMS: What, algebra, geometry?

BK: Oh no, just basic--I taught over at the junior high, basic math.

LMS: Oh, you came back to the junior high initially?

BK: I suggested that getting over to the high school and social studies was what I wanted to do and I've been there for two years.

PK: You mentioned earlier that your parents fed into this somewhat too, returning--was...?

BK: Dad died in 1976--my Mother lives over on the hill and she's getting up in years so she's 78 now.

We had been to dinner, and the discussion had continued. Bill raised a number of items about his return to the town of Lafayette and his teaching at Lafayette High. At the time, we felt it was important to him and it was intriguing to us. Now we phrase it as part of our theme, "You do go home." The discussion picked up this way:

> LMS: One of the questions growing out of dinner that I wanted to raise with you--or hear you talk a little bit about--early on you talked about "retiring" from the broad array of rather busy, challenging, hectic times in Washington, D.C. and Eastern City--and you came back to Lafayette and taught junior high math for a couple of years, if I understood correctly and had been teaching secondary social studies. And you talked a little bit about the trauma or culture shock in coming back--would you talk a little bit about teaching and how you perceive that and where that fits the general pattern? And you've raised an issue or two about the kind of excitement that comes with helping a few to some of the kids, I guess in cliché terms, to see a little bit of the world.
>
> BK: I just think the kids need to learn how to pace themselves in an educational environment. I think they need, you know, to learn humanism from their teacher and in the classroom. I think that you create an educational environment so that they can do that. Now, when the kids, when I came back the kids maybe were not different. I've just been away for 16 years and I've been in positions where I was my own boss a lot of the time and so yeah, it was difficult to readjust myself to that and I was tempted I guess to maybe, you know, maybe not to continue teaching, but I think that I'll stay with it.
>
> LMS: You've got routines down now that are reasonably satisfying to you and the kids and that kind of thing?
>
> BK: Yes, but you develop those over a few years. I mean, I laugh and say I'm in retirement but teaching is teaching, you know, and that's a routine and a vigorous kind of activity that you have to do too. And I enjoy doing that because I really enjoy working with the kids and my daughter and the youngsters that I have at school. Teaching is life in the sense of Socrates I suppose but, it's what it's about and as far as I know, I'll not come out of retirement, in the sense that I'm in retirement. I'm not even really interested in writing any of my perceptions about any of the

things that I've done. You mentioned at dinner, why didn't I write something down about change and the various institutions--Paul did and I think it would be interesting but it isn't something I want to do.

PK: Is that a more general phenomenon of the doers versus the, I don't want to put the writers as non-doers but it struck me that different people we've talked with that were associated with Kensington, extremely interested in the ideas and applying them but really very little interest in necessarily sharing those with a broader community.

BK: Well, I've had some experience in writing with these booklets that we have here. It's a process guide on community use and I enjoyed doing it, but I personally am much more interested in the doing aspect of it. Although I really do enjoy curriculum work I see the piece that you have in your hand there--the guide for desegregating a community without turmoil is a curriculum work at the societal level. I see that as a contribution at that level.

LMS: So in effect, you're teaching and doing curriculum development work at multiple levels?

BK: Right, I think all--ever since I started in education in 1957, you know, teaching. Once I learned at Kensington and at Milford, where I was at whatever level, I know where I am. I know the contribution that I'm making and I'm satisfied with that when I'm doing it. I would maybe like to write again on some things, but not right now, if that makes any sense. I enjoyed doing the book--and one of them is in quite some detail on what various communities did. And one of them was an overview but it isn't--I don't enjoy sitting and writing that much.

LMS: As a daily activity kind of thing?

BK: Yes, however, I do a great deal of it in my own preparation for my classes at school.

LMS: Talk about the teaching a bit from both kind of how your day goes, what class to class sort of thing, in terms of different subjects or whatever, and also how that, as you say, the writing produces kind of a curriculum development point of view.

BK: Okay, first of all I've got all grades, I've got freshmen, I've three--this year I've three sections of

World Geography, I've got a section of American History and one section of World History, so I've got all required social studies.

LMS: Are you the only social studies teacher?

BK: No, no, there--the department is rather full. I mean, there are probably three or four others. But, okay, I combine the text as an aid because I feel like that the text is something that the kids can take home, review, read, answer questions on, outline, etc. and that's their extension out of the classroom. That's what they have, that's all they have other than what I would give them in addition like notes and what have you. Of course I can assign things, like out of the paper and other current events, on the election and what have you, but basically the text book is it. And then I enrich that, you know, with kind of mini lectures and then we discuss and then of course we utilize the audio-visual stuff and what have you. But it is a discipline and they know the expectation and I found that in my going through college and high school and the kids that are going through are undisciplined in that regard.

LMS: They've never really been students in that larger sense that you're talking about?

BK: That's right, and I feel like the greatest thing that I can give them regardless of what I'm teaching is those skills, to be able to cope with the institution, to be able to cope with the discipline, the social studies discipline or the math discipline, and to--and in the other sense be able to discipline themselves so that they can master that. Now, and as far as behavior and activity in the classroom, there's quite a bit in my classroom because I still have learning centers in my classroom. And there are days that we pull the chairs apart and do that, but I believe that first of all you, as an instructor, sets the climate for that.

Bill, perhaps more than anyone in the group, talked in a way congruent with individuals who had been through a mid life crisis, and was moving toward the kind of integrative resolution many of us try for:

PK: You think your intuitions are still fairly close to where you are now?

BK: Well, if I were to go back into a like situation in the 1980's I would still want to know, I would want to know where my milestones were. I'd want to know where my targets were. Sure, as an administrator, and I've administered several kinds of projects and grants and classrooms and schools, I always tried to lay out a PERT or a system by which--and if I got there good, and if I didn't get there I'd want to know why.

LMS: In the sense of a PERT chart?

BK: Right, but that's me, I've always been that way in the sense that I've tried to organize myself in that way, my classes in that way, and as I read a little about astrology that's not uncommon for your sign or mine.

PK: How about Aquarius?

BK: Oh well, they'd like it I think--(laughter)--lovely people.

LMS: Is there any, (laughter) well, I won't say what that says for your science--is there any yen to pick up on some of those early partially formulated notions of elementary curriculum and try to implement them as--I don't know whether Lafayette for instance has an assistant superintendent for elementary education.

BK: Oh, I feel like that I could. We've got a director of elementary here, we've got a federal project coordinator here. They asked me two years ago if I wanted to apply for elementary principalship and I said no, I really don't choose to.

PK: Could you elaborate why?

BK: I'm happy where I am--I have no aspiration--right now I am--I might want to do something a little later.

PK: Is it the level, secondary versus elementary or is it the teaching as opposed to the administering?

BK: No, no, it's--I am happy--I'm happy in education--I was happy as a principal--I learned happiness for myself even though it was a traumatic year at Kensington and Milford. I've been happy with every one of my educational positions that I've had.

PK: So you wouldn't be happy as a principal?

BK: I'm personally happy and not only happy in my job--I'm happy in my yard, in my garden. I wanted to become happy out of my briefcase or out of my classroom or out of my job. And I've reached that state, and now I'm not saying that my job is secondary because my job is very important but I can leave my job at the high school now, if I want to and if I need to. And I was almost getting so that I could leave my job in Washington but the job wouldn't leave me, you know, they could get to me and they would get to me and so that's in the sense...

LMS: When you say get to you--sleeping or the phone or the weekends or...?

BK: The phone--well, yeah, I mean people could, yeah, people could get to me and they would want you to be somewhere to do something, you know, and I think it's nice to love cocker spaniels that eat cake you know (laughter).

LMS: That's priceless.

BK: You know, I mean, so I really wouldn't want to go to Southeast State or I really wouldn't want to go to Southwest State and Eugene or play bridge every night. My God, I want to sit home, and enjoy the solitude of being here.

PK: And the major reason then would be the drawing too much of you into one specific area, that you've achieved an integration now, personally and professionally?

BK: Oh, I guess that would be a nice professional way of saying it, yeah, psychologically, or sociological way of saying it. I, you know, I am very well satisfied with who I am and where I am and I think that I can look back on the Kensingtons, of the experience regardless of where they have been along the way--that includes a divorce and it includes kids and, the fluidity of this kind of an environment and yet to say that, I'm happy where I am right now. I don't know if that is going to be true in two years or three or whatever but I look forward to going in and discussing the two tests that I gave today with the youngsters that I gave them and to talk about it with them tomorrow.

LMS: About the problems they had and what you were looking for:

BK: Sure, and I try to look forward to going in and to being with the youngsters in every class, and I feel like that when I can't do that then it's time for me to begin looking for something else to do.

LMS: And unretire as it were?

BK: Well, or something else to do--and gosh, who knows, I mean, we're not wed to any institution I hope, or wed to any particular whatever. I don't know, I might even decide to get out of education entirely, but I doubt it because I love it. But one day they'll force us out--all of us.

LMS: They being who?

BK: The institutions, of course. They have retirement ages.

LMS: Oh, I understand now--well, in fifteen years...?

Later he returned once more to the interrelationship of his values and beliefs, his career, and his current setting. It captures another piece of coming home:

> BK: That was intuitive I think, you know, as I reflect upon those days. I--well, my Daddy commented, and he said to me, "If you want to make money," he said this to me, "You've got to go where it is." So I did that.
>
> LMS: He was telling you this when you were a youngster?
>
> BK: As a youngster. And he also said to me another kind of thing. He said, well, he said, "I never care what you do but just be honest in doing it." A lot of little things, I mean, but at any rate, you put it together and you look at things. I had a perk, you know...
>
> LMS: But you had one at that point in time? And the lines and the activities would merge in the mid forties at some point?
>
> BK: It wasn't all that hard and fast but every--I just did not want to be a bureaucrate with a briefcase in a corporation or a job and let your life pass you by 'cause you only got a ticket, okay? Now I didn't have sense enough to know that when I was 20 years old but...
>
> LMS: But you had some feel about it?
>
> BK: I had some feel that if you're only going to live to 65 or 70 or 80 then you can't use all of your life being somebody else's person or getting there. Now I haven't

> made all that much peace with who I am necessarily right now, but I'm happy now. I mean, I think that mankind needs to deal with himself as to where he is in his environment. I don't want to be in Washington right now or Southeast State or Southwest State. I don't want to be principal over here in this elementary school either. But I think that where I am right now is to be working with the kids that are at the same place that I was in 1948, 1950, and to say to those kids, but not verbally, but to demonstrate to those kids that you can walk out of this town and you can do whatever you want to. You can go all the way to the White House if you want to, and you can come back here if you want. You and St. Louis, Oklahoma, or whereever--I think that's a big part of what this country's about and a big part of what public education's about. And I don't feel like that I made "my contribution," it's not that. It's just that I worked on a societal level, I worked at the institutional level, and right now I'm working on the instructional level.

### 5.43 Variations on the Theme

Without going into great detail, nor adding every instance in our records, a few brief illustrations extend the meaning of the theme.

The dynamics of "going home again" as we have indicated, vary considerably. In one instance it seemed quite simple--Meg Adrian is single, her parents have retired, and she has a brother and sister-in-law within driving distance in a nearby state. As she commented:

> My brother is here and going to be teaching after June. So we have a unique situation here. So, he's living here, has an apartment here, but he's also keeping his home in Nearby State. So when my sister-in-law comes over here to be with him, my mother and dad come to stay with me. So it's kind of a half and half thing.

Family resolutions seem important.

But others, as we have indicated, returned earlier for other, perhaps simpler reasons. Kay Abbot was one of these:

> Subsequent to my leaving Kensington, I really intended to be there only one year, because at the time that I went down there the gentleman and I had an understanding that we would be married in June, 1965. So I intended at the time only to be there for one year. But I thought it was a valuable experience that, despite certain personal complications that it would be worthwhile to go down there. But in June of '65 I came back home and was married. My husband, being involved with a family business in Hoganstown has pretty much dictated the fact that we have stayed here subsequent to that. I did go back to the school in which I did my intern teaching, and became a staff member there in a team teaching situation.

Her situation captures a part of the motivation of several of the younger women.

"Going home" has multiple forms and each form has multiple antecedents. Sue Norton's return was to the small town in which she had grown up. Her father died the year she was at Kensington. She went to City University for an MAT degree, completing certification requirements then she went home:

> SN: I really didn't feel I had that choice--I really felt I had to come home.
>
> LMS: To your mother?
>
> SN: To my mother, yeah, I really did. I don't know that she ever said, you must come home, I think this was just ingrained. As my father was gone, mother needed someone strong to take care of her and that's gonna' be me which is absolutely, patently absurd. My mother is one of the strongest people around but I really perceived that she needed me to come home, and in a way she did. I think, you know, she would have been fine if I had gone off somewhere else. But, and it was also the safe choice. I was going back, I was teaching in the same building I started elementary school in. One of the teachers I had had, my favorite teacher in elementary school, was still in that building, still teaching, we were going to be colleagues.
>
> LMS: But you did go the first year to City University for your MST?
>
> SN: In between Kensington, yeah--that was a year...

> LMS: Your father died?
>
> SN: Right, okay, I couldn't come back here and teach so mother lived along for a year.
>
> LMS: Okay, so that was the stop gap part?
>
> SN: Right, while I was at City University.
>
> PK: In retrospect, do you think it was more her need or your need that brought you here for the three years?
>
> SN: I think it was both--I think it was my perception of her need plus my lack of willingness to really try something different.

Other aspects of Sue's career and life history, raised elsewhere in the report, clarifies the depth and significance of her brief comments here.

As we have reported on "You Do Go Home Again," the major illustrations were the vivid geographical returns of several of the faculty. In other interviews, before we realized the generality of the themes and pursued it in more detail, small, but in retrospect, important comments were made and passed over by the interviewers. After a lengthy set of comments on his estrangement from his father and the alternative kind of relationship he is developing with his own children, David Nichols commented to a question:

> LMS: Do your parents play a role in your children's lives now, are they dead or passed on?
>
> DN: My mother's dead. We just had a reunion with my father and my sister at this Thanksgiving so at this point, we're going to be spending more and more time with my family.
>
> LMS: First time in years or...?

> DN: First time in about eight years, so there's been some healing there which has really been good and--But I had, as a child, I had a just a real strong desire to spend time with my father and to have him influence my life, but see, he wasn't available. Today he's available and I'm going to be spending more time with him and getting to know my Dad, he's 76.
>
> LMS: Retired?
>
> DN: And I'm 41, yeah, and he married one of my aunts whose husband died and they're very happy together. And we had a tremendous reunion with them two weeks ago so I'm looking forward to it.

A variety of thoughts arose from Nichol's brief comment. First, there is one more manisfestation of "you do go home again." In David's case there's a long term estrangement and an attempt to build a relationship frustrated earlier by their problems.

Immediately afterwards in the interview he made the following comments intertwining an almost fatherly view of God:

> I would say that the, my early childhood plus the experience at the University of totally turning away from anything spiritual and being totally on a mind trip were the two major causes of my immaturity. And both of those have been overcome since that time, by Grace, it's incredible, I'm so glad that God is gracious, you know, reading the Old Testament and you look at the history of the Jewish people and you know, the coming out of Egypt and forty years in the wilderness and then the Promised Land and how many times they rebelled against God's plan for their nation and were punished, judged, thousands of them were killed in the wilderness, just wiped out. You probably know the history of the Old Testament and yet God was still merciful and still loved His chosen people and still has a plan for them even today, even though they've scattered all over the world, but I'm glad that He is a merciful God because He would have given up on a guy like me a long time ago. (laughter)
>
> So, He always told the Jews, even though you rebel against Me and disobey, if you come back and ask for forgiveness, I'll have mercy on you and I still love you and so I know what that...

In a sense, he's gone home religiously as well.

Our penchant for ordering our interpretations led us, one more time, to develop Figure 37, the multiple antecedents of going home. All of the eight items, individually and in varied combinations, seemed important with the Kensington/Milford staff. Item 8, latent psychological needs, seems to be critical for the integration of the multiple themes in our natural history of belief systems.

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Insert Figure 37 about here

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### 4.55 The Gouldian Hypothesis

One of the strangest set of results, as we have indicated, is the "You do go home again" pattern in our data. We were surprised that these highly innovative, change-the-world true believers seemed to return home, some after years of purposeful wandering, engaged in socially important activities all over the country. Although Jerl Cohen and Bill Birkham are the prototypes, the phenomenon was considerably broader.

Every generalization such as this one keeps nagging away with a why, why, why? Late in the day, long after the interviews had been conducted and the pattern noted we were "reading around" in the recent adult developmental literature--Levinson (1978), Sheehy (1974), Valliant (1977), Smelzer and Erikson (1980), Neugarten (1968), et al. We kept coming upon the name of Roger Gould, his 1972 paper, and later his 1978 book, Transformations.

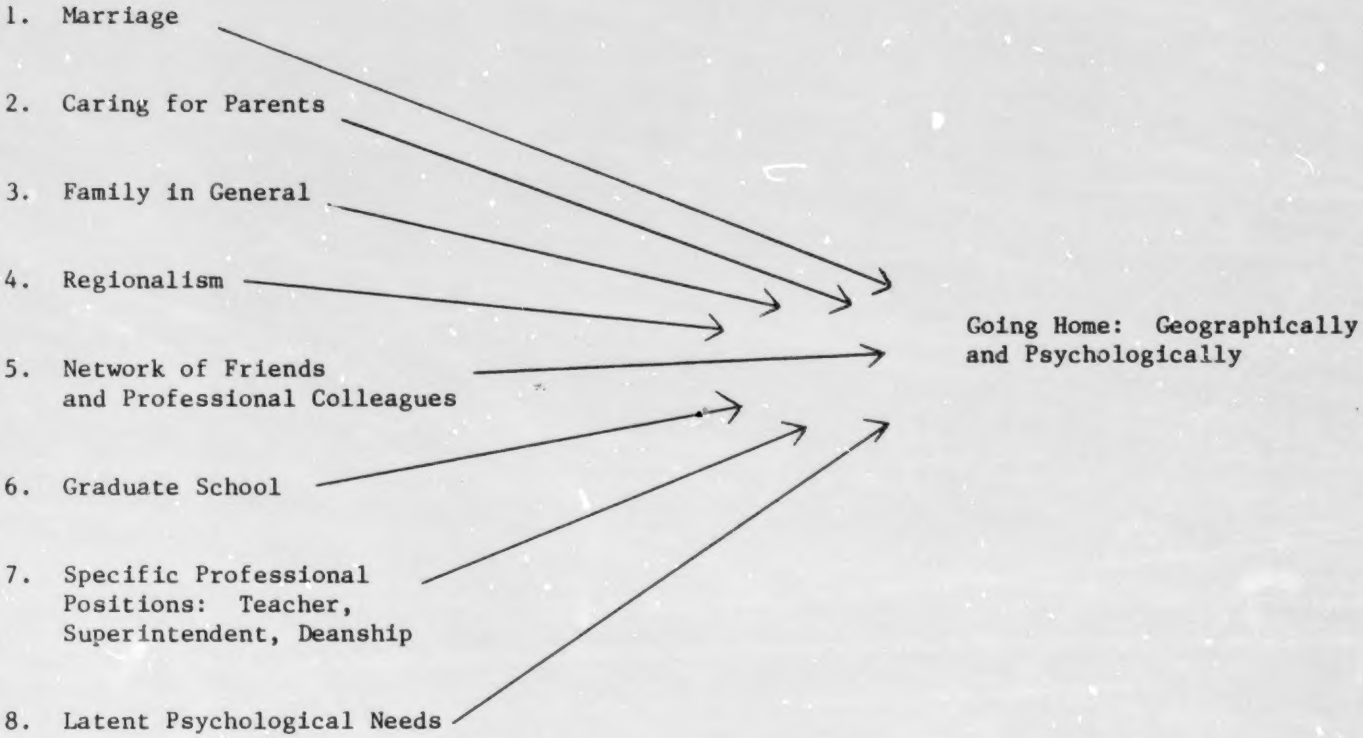
1. Marriage
2. Caring for Parents
3. Family in General
4. Regionalism
5. Network of Friends and Professional Colleagues
6. Graduate School
7. Specific Professional Positions: Teacher, Superintendent, Deanship
8. Latent Psychological Needs
Going Home: Geographically and Psychologically

Figure 37: The Multiple Antecedents of Going Home

In his book Transformation, Gould (1978) does not use the concept "belief" or "belief systems." His synonyms are consciousness, assumptions, rules, illusions. In his introduction he tells a story of the initial disillusionment and depression he and his wife felt in buying their dream house and the relation of that event to childhood illusions. He concludes:

> This forgotten childhood assumption, that I would live my adult life in my hometown near my family and friends, is not the same kind of assumption one thinks of in a debate or an exploratory conversation. It is more like a wish and therefore leads to unrealistic expectation—and disappointment, which in this instance was expressed by feelings of sadness. As I later discovered, my disappointment at having to give up this rather minor false assumption of my childhood is part of a process of shedding a whole network of assumptions, rules, fantasies, irrationalities and regidities that tie us to our childhood consciousness. This network of assumptions allows us to believe, on a nonrational, emotional level, that we've never really left the safe world provided by omnipotent parents. The act of taking a step into an adult life--our moving into our new house--exposed this second, unsuspected emotional reality: a *childhood consciousness* coexisted alongside our rational, adult view of rality.
> (1978, p. 11)

The specific item, "I would live my life in my home town" and the reference to synonyms of beliefs, "assumptions", "protective illusions" triggered what we have come to call the Gould hypothesis. If a significant number of innovators do return home and if all of us, but especially them, are trying progressively to live with, escape from, cope with, grow out of our childhood consciousness then the phenomenon of educational innovation takes on significance well beyond the discussions most educationists and social scientists have made about innovation and change. Perhaps, too, we seem to be hudging into the roots of true belief and crusades as Hoffer (1951) and Klapp (1969) have used the terms. Briefly, here, we would like to explore such notions in the context of a fuller presentation of Gould's ideas and the data from our interviews.

He phrases the unfinished business of childhood consciousness this way:

> To brew up an adult, it seems that some leftover childhood must be mixed in; a little unfinished business from the past periodically intrudes on our adult life, confusing our relationships and disturbing our sense of self. (p. 17)

The leftover unfinished business he speaks of as childhood demons.

Without raising all the details of the interlocking childhood beliefs and assumptions and the age related periods when one copes with them, our hypothesizing goes something like this.

1) Our innovative reform oriented group, internalize early and strongly, that is, much more than the population at large, such childhood demons.

2) In their 20's they are influenced by the major false assumption "Doing things my parents way, with will power and perseverance, will bring results." (p. 71) The true believer almost seems defined by Gould's four component assumptions within that overall one:

> 1. Rewards will come automatically if we do what we are supposed to do.
>
> 2. There is only one right way to do things.
>
> 3. Those in a special relationship with us can do for us what we haven't been able to do for ourself.
>
> 4. Rationality, commitment and effort will always prevail over all other forces. (p. 76)

Those items might well have come out of our first study of Kensington, when most of the faculty were in their 20's or 30's when they were building their utopian educational world. True believers, so we argue, see the reformation in the outside world rather than in themselves. Hoffer makes this point very strongly as ridding oneself of an unwanted self or being intensely discontented.

3) The issue that seemed to be taking the largest amount of psychic time and effort, since their departure from Kensington and Milford, was Gould's major false assumption:

> Life is simple and controllable. There are no significant coexisting contradictory forces within me. (p. 153)

The component assumptions, also all false, describe some of the more particular internal battles:

1. What I know intellectually, I know emotionally.
2. I am not like my parents in ways I don't want to be.
3. I can see the reality of those close to me quite clearly.
4. Threats to my security aren't real. (p. 164)

The accumulation of self perceptions some of which are highly contradictory, is not incongruent with our data.

4) Equally important for true believers is the false assumption of the midlife decade:

> There is no evil or death in the world. The sinister has been destroyed. (p. 217)

We would argue that the growing realization that this is false, that evil remains in the world, in spite of their crusades and attempts to destroy it becomes the ultimately difficult childhood demon with which they must deal.

Although Gould does not use nor index the concept of regression, his conception of adulthood as an active, dynamic period, his conception of directionality in growth, from childhood to adulthood, and his explicit conception of the unconscious suggest it is a derivable idea. He comments:

> I concluded that my report on the "posturing of the self" over the adult years was useful to all because it brought home the obvious fact that *adulthood is not a plateau;* rather, it is a dynamic and changing time for all of us. As we grow and change, we take steps *away* from childhood and *toward* adulthood--steps such as marriage, work, consciously developing a talent or buying a home. With each step, the unfinished business of childhood intrudes, disturbing our emotions and requiring psychological work. With this in mind, adults may now view their disturbed feelings at particular periods as a possible sign of progress, as part of their attempted movement toward a fuller adult life. (p. 14)

One might argue, that "going home" is a form of regression. Or perhaps, one might argue it is directly confronting and coping with the "unfinished business of childhood." Either of these interpretations, insofar as they have any validity, in our data and more generally, suggests the complications underlying educational innovation.

In an overly simplified form, from our point of view, Gould suggests a seven item "inner dialogue" which each individual must go through to be free of the "demonic past."

> 1. Recognize our tension and confusion.
>
> 2. Understand that we respond to two contradictory realities.
>
> 3. Give full intensity to the childhood reality; that is, let it be real.
>
> 4. Realize that both contradictory realities still exist. We're not sure which one is real. Confusion again, but more intense and better defined.
>
> 5. Test reality. Take a risk that discriminates one view from another.
>
> 6. Fight off the strong urge to retreat just on the edge of discovery.
>
> 7. Reach an integrated, trustworthy view of a section of reality unencumbered by the demonic past. (p. 74)

Our discussion of the experiential funnel in the prior section suggests a complementing if not alternative point of view. It is the bigger developmental tasks and life experiences that are important in the development and transformation of belief systems. It could well be argued that it is precisely such tasks and experiences that are potent enough to begin and to maintain the kind of inner dialogue suggested by Gould.

Almost as an aside, the three retired teachers, Irma Hall, Wanda Ellison, and Carla Young, all in their 60's and 70's now, were impressive individuals. If we had read Gould earlier, we would have felt biased and seeing them through his lens. In reading him late, we find our data validating his interpretation:

> The life of inner directedness finally prevails; I own myself. (p. 309)

But even here, assuming that the reader agrees with this initial interpretation, we don't know whether this is the potential outcome for most or all of our innovators and reformers, or whether these three were cut from other than true belief cloth. That one will have to await another day.

As we said in the beginning, the Gouldian hypothesis, is an hypothesis. The anomaly was the "you do go home again" item. For us, this was a startling end to some quite dramatic odysessy's and pilgrimages. Nowhere in our report does the tired cliche "need for future research" fit better than here. In the interim, we believe we have presented enough of the participants' view points that the careful reader can read both the manifest things the people are saying and can read between the lines for additional meaning and begin the assessment of the hypothesis.

## 5.5 Belief Systems: Conclusions and Implications

### 5.51 Another Perspective

Trying to summarize, conclude, or draw implications from a long and detailed interpretation such as "The Natural History of Belief Systems" runs the risk of presenting homilies and platitudes. To circumvent such problems we cast our final comments in the context of House's (1979) provocative "ten year perspective on innovation." He argues that three broad perspectives have dominated thought about educational innovation. They are the:

1) technological,
2) political,
3) cultural.

In House's view, the technological model was developed in agriculture and industry and formalized in education as the R, D, & D model, Research, Development, and Diffusion. It provided the basic set of assumptions for much of the work in educational innovation in the 1960's. The political perspective arose as a competing model and cast the problems and difficulties as issues of value pluralism involving multiple interest groups and processes of conflict, negotiation and compromise in the making of decisions, the securing of resources, and the distribution in incentives and rewards. The cultural perspective took a more holistic, and contextualist, perspective, usually with concerns for the meaning of the actors in the setting. It was an anthropological perspective, frequently carried out by non anthropologists. Its basic aim was to provide mirrors for individuals, groups, larger educational communities.

In this context, our study of Educational Innovators: Then and Now, and especially our accent on the natural history of belief systems is an attempt to redress the under emphasis, and in some instances the omission of the individual person in the innovative process. It accents the biography, the life history of the individuals involved. In a sense it reflects a position among the multiple theories of personality currently in debate in social science. Further, as a point of view about human personality, it also can be seen as a kind of psychological perspective. As a psychological perspective it is considerably different both methodologically and substantively from most of the psychological perspectives and efforts that have occurred within educational innovation. From our point of view such a difference is important and the main contribution of our effort. In effect, we are proposing a fourth perspective to the three raised by House (1979).[18]

### 5.52 Implications

If educational innovators differ from educational reformers only in the size of the planned change they contemplate, and if both are linked with being "true believers", and if educational reform has a quality of secularized religion, as we have argued, then the phenomenon of educational innovation has roots well beyond a simple technological, cost-benefit, or surface change in schooling practices. Tracing out our instances of "going home" also suggested this is so.

Another implication arises in the multiple analyses of change processes. For instance, "resistance to change" as a social psychological problem, or failures of implementation of innovations due to inadequate leadership, or incompatibilities and inconsistencies within innovations, or lack of training in new methods, and so forth seem by the mark, or less than the whole story from the data and the interpretations we are making here in our account of the natural history of belief systems.

In some important way, when the specific planned change for the better becomes larger and moves toward educational reform, and, perhaps a new school such as Kensington is large enough, and particularly when it's the prototype for a District such as Milford, and when it has ties to "the new elementary education", then one is asking of participants major questions on how they want to live. Perhaps we are obsessed with the question, and that is true, we are. But our relatively non directive probing, at least initially, stirred up ideas, emotions, and reactions which overwhelmed us. The Kensington/Milford experience was no small item in the lives of these people. Its roots were long standing and tangled. It's later offshoots were major items in their careers and personal histories. It related to fundamental choices, decisions of principle, in how the various individuals lived.

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[18] Actually, Volumes I, II, and III, raise a fifth perspective, an historical view. In our view an overall model must have technological, political, cultural, biographical, and historical dimensions if the phenomenon of educational change, innovation, and reform are to be understood.

In some very fundamental sense we believe that the debate on "innovation and change in American education" needs to be reconstrued and recentered. Much of that needs to deal with the belief systems, the personalities, and the life histories of the critical participants. Our attempt has focused on a small group of teachers and administrators. Pupils, parents, and patrons need the same kind of attention.

Another side of this coin exists. In our study of the historical and contemporaneous context of the Kensington School we met a large number of conservative board members, administrators, teachers, and patrons. In telling their stories we came away seeing them as three dimensional actors deserving the same kind of concern and respect that we feel for our innovative colleagues who originated the Kensington School. Now, we believe, similar depth interviews would have provided similarly complicated but differently construed life histories. Stereotypic labels would do them an injustice as well.

Now, images of human nature, the good life, and the good community seem not to be sensationalized labels for the kind of problem with which we are dealing. When we turn to our intellectual betters, social science theorists and educational theorists, we find less help than we might have expected from traditions such as the near century of the scientific movement in education.[19]

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[19] In a different but related context Arthur Wirth and Louis Smith have had recently a seminar exploring the topic Search for a Paradigm: Education, Human Nature and the Human Sciences. The agenda pursued a number of items related to Kensington Revisited. That seminar has culminated in an AERA Symposium (Smith, et al, 1984).

# Section III

## Summary, Conclusions, and Implications

# 1. RESEARCH AS AN INNOVATIVE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

## 1.1 A Point of View

One of the most amazing aspects of the Kensington Revisited research project has been the open ended quality of the effort, what "it got us into" by way of multiple unanticipated activities. In our very first interview, Irma Hall began recounting aspects of the early history of the District, about which we were relatively ignorant, and we found ourselves pushed to extend the knowledge we had of the Milford School District. Epistemologically life history became a subinstance of historical method and substance, about which we knew very little, as well as a subinstance of personality theory, about which we thought we did know a little. Our interview data furthered our concern for "inner perspectives" which, in turn, made us restive with more positivistic paradigms and heightened contrasts within the interpretive point of view. Continuing perplexities over Kensington's "success" or "failure" pushed us toward an examination of critical perspectives. And that thrust still leaves us with the problem of critical theory as a large paradigmatic category or "just" a smaller instance among several kinds of normative theories--conservative, democratic, liberal, or radical. Some of this process is captured in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 about here

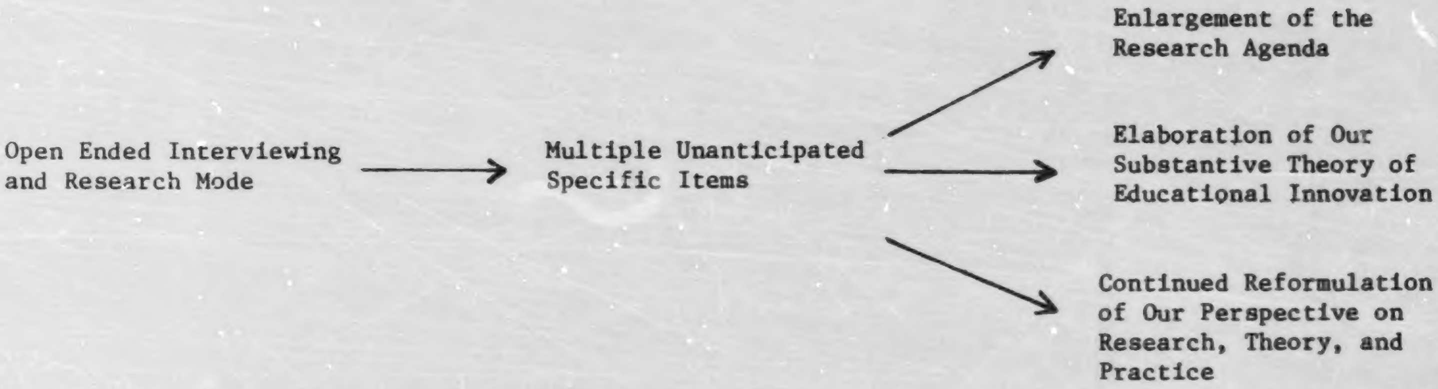
Open Ended Interviewing and Research Mode
Multiple Unanticipated Specific Items
Enlargement of the Research Agenda
Elaboration of Our Substantive Theory of Educational Innovation
Continued Reformulation of Our Perspective on Research, Theory, and Practice

Figure 1: Multiple Consequences of the Open Ended Interviewing and Research Mode

The impact of these events makes a simple summary or conclusion impractical if not impossible. Consequently we will raise an issue or two regarding modes of theory and research. Then we suggest several continuing enigmas of educational innovation and change. Finally, we will concern ourselves more directly with a concluding issue--Was Kensington a success?

### 1.2 Research, Theory, and the Creation of Alternatives

In our view one of the larger debates currently underway in education concerns the nature of the paradigm or Weltanschauung undergirding educational thought. If we are to believe Bernstein (1978), Fay (1975), and Bredo and Feinberg (1982), the concerns run throughout social science. In an earlier essay, we had phrased the issues this way:

> In summary, educational research workers differ on a number of often implicit dimensions and configurations, which might be called metatheoretical issues. A half dozen of these seem particularly important:
>
> 1. The root metaphor within which one works--mechanical, organic, formal, or contextual.
> 2. The inner or outer perspective one chooses, that is, a stance from the subject's point of view or the outside observer's point of view.
> 3. A theory which is more limited in scope and time to a local context versus one that is more general.
> 4. A level of abstraction that is more descriptive and concrete or more abstract and interpretive.
> 5. A model of explanation that is more covering law versus one that is configurational or contextual.
> 6. A theory that is more action oriented and more ethical versus one that is more descriptive and analytical.

> It is my contention that a reader of participant observer reports, as he positions himself at one or another of the poles in these metatheoretical dilemmas and as he treats these positions as value laden--good, appropriate, desirable --will make varying judgments on the quality of any particular piece of research. It is my contention also that while these issues separate various ethnographic researchers from each other, they also represent major differences between the ethnographer and the larger community of educational researchers. As such they are problems needing more general attention in the educational research community.
> (Smith, 1979, p. 365)

Although we are not critical theorists in the hard sense of that term and though we are not true believers in the hard sense of that term, our involvement with our group of educational innovators has raised vividly the need for a theory of action, an innovative theory of educational research. Consider the item from an interview protocol:

> Kay A: I learned some things from the business world.
>
> OBS: You acquired some negotiating skills?
>
> KA: Well, you know, I think you need to think about these things. And I have talked to the administrative people here about this possibility. Of course they are certainly in no position to say yes, you do that, and we will guarantee, you know, they are really not in that kind of position to do that nor have I asked them, but that is a possibility. I think that the more I analyze myself in what I perceive as my strengths and weaknesses, I think that I have an awful lot to give in terms of the education field. I think that I work the very best with better learners. And so it seems a reasonable type of situation for me, but I don't want it to interfere with my family life, or my husband's situation. Those two, right now, are my priorities. So I guess I'm in a real state of, let's say I want but maybe I can't have. Maybe my timing is wrong. I think there are some things I find very wrong in education, for example, that I think they would be far better off using more part time people, and not speaking specifically from my own desires, but I think just in general.

Now that is a fascinatingly complex statement. In summary fashion, we would like to analyze it and indicate where it fits into the context of our report.

For instance, in this passage she seems to be blending:

1) an understanding of how administrator's think and behave,

2) a progressive focusing on her own interests and abilities working with "better learners" or gifted youngsters as she elaborated later,

3) a clarity in priorities, at this time, "right now", regarding husband and family,

4) a recognition of living with conflict and dilemmas, "I want but maybe I can't have",

5) an institutional resolution such as "more part time people."

These ideas are a long way towards a model containing multiple statements of the problem and of the multiple alternatives for resolving the problems for individual women such as those in our sample—teachers who are gifted, reform oriented, and proactive.

Perhaps first we need to recall that Kay Abbot is one of the younger teachers. After her year at Kensington she returned home, married a local businessman, and taught in the school where she had done her internship. After her children were born she taught part time and then did extensive volunteer work in the school her children attended. One of the theoretical issues we have tackled is an explication of Betty Friedan's The Second Stage (1981). We believe that teachers, such as Kay Abbot, have interesting stories to tell about how their lives have worked out, and implicitly solved some of the problems of personhood.

An additional function of theory we are saying is not only to explain, but to suggest possibilities to teachers as individuals, to policy makers, and to society more generally. Teaching, so we have argued, a traditional "female occupation", needs rethinking for its many possibilities in task differentiation (subbing, part time, specialties such as Title I and gifted), in gender and age crossovers, and in synthesis and integration with family priorities (time of day, schedules, and vacations) and such characteristics (affiliation, nurturance) that some writers (Gilligan, 1977) are arguing as especially characteristic of women.

In our prior experience the area that brought all this to focus has been a concern over the years for the importance of the arts and aesthetic education in the development of the individual. Then we asked: what do the artists, movelists, and playwrights know? And, how do they know what they know? The best of them seem to be keen observers of the human condition, interpreters of its meaning, and creators of alternative visions, myths, images of what it might be. This seems not far from what we found outselves doing with our educational theory. And it seems but a step or two beyond the role of research in the discovery of grounded theory and the development of heuristics, metaphors, and problem redefinitions as argued by social scientists such as Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Rein and Schon (1977). In a more general and manifesto form, Bernstein (1976) argues:

> An adequate, comprehensive political and social theory must be at once empirical, interpretive, and critical. (p. XIV)

And, so, too, for Education we believe.

## 1.3 On Being Teacher Educators: Audience Issues

Recently our colleague Rob Walker of the University of East Anglia published a paper with the engaging title, "Three good reasons for not doing case studies in curriculum research". His arguments are these:

> Given the aspirations of the kind of case-study research I have outlined, a common problem is how to get beyond routine data to the stories that make the case come to life. This is an especially common problem in interviewing, where people often find it hard to break out of the constraint of telling you what they think you want (or ought) to know in order to tell you what you want to hear. Most of us more or less consciously adopt tactics for trying to close down one line of discussion in order to open up other, quite different lines. Barry MacDonald, for example, has a favourite question. When the interviewee is in full flight in what to the interviewer is a wrong direction, Barry will pause, look hard at the interviewee, and ask; "But what keeps you *awake* at night?" This sharp break in formal discourse allows people to recollect their thoughts and to set out in the direction of a more personal and intimate discussion. It is an effective question. So effective I find myself asking the same question in relation to research. Like many of those who write in what loosely is called the "naturalistic tradition" I tend to talk and write a lot about methods of research; but what keeps me awake at night? The truth is, very little, but over the years there have been a number of occasions when things have gone wrong in the course of carrying out case studies and this paper started out simply as a list of the events that have troubled me to the point where I lay awake worrying about them. As I thought about them and talked about them the list narrowed to three headings: three good reasons for not doing case-study research. They are that:
>
> (a) Case-study research is an intervention, and often an uncontrolled intervention, in the lives of others.
>
> (b) Case-study research provides a biased view, a distorted picture of the way things are.
>
> (c) Case-study research is essentially conservative.
>
> (1983, p. 156)

Our current efforts seem a counter argument to each of his reasons, or perhaps a difference in emphasis for each. Our looking for alternatives, in the prior section, contrasts with the conservative thrust of some case studies.

His analysis suggested a broader problem we had reflected on when trying to clarify our stance in discussions with individuals who teach mostly in academic departments. George Spindler had once commented that he liked what we were doing but it wasn't anthropology. Several years later Smith commented:

> As I suppose is true in all symposia, my comments in this paper are both constrained by and enlightened by the particular topic, the particular setting we are in here, and my particular background and occupational niche. A word or two about these issues will help set the stage. First, I'm not an anthropologist. I was trained at the University of Minnesota as a general psychologist with a clinical interest in learning problems of children. Second, I work in an education department; my students are teachers--preservice, inservice, or teachers of teachers. Third, in an attempt to understand more clearly the issues of teaching and learning I got involved, a decade ago, in the direct observation of educational events. Later I was to learn that this was called participant observation, field research, or perhaps even "the microethnography of the classroom"; all of which are better activities than collecting "anecdotal records".
> (Smith, 1974)

Similarly we had had debates with staff members of NIE on the long term versus short term, use of field studies. Usually we argued for the long term importance rather than the more "hot blooded" hope for immediate utilization (Smith and Dwyer, 1980).

Implicitly if not always explicitly, the case we have been making is that our position in an Education Department, Institute, School, or College, with teaching demands at the preservice A.B. level, inservice

M.S. level, and research oriented Ph.D level has given us a particular cluster of audiences. As we have integrated the various aspects of our professional lives this has given our research a particular thrust and perspective, and increasingly, off the "main line social science models."

But our point here is that our life histories of Educational Innovators: Then and Now has added further dimensions--images, stories, theories and metaphors to the way we think about teacher education and what we teach in those programs. Bias and distortion seem a stronger set of labels than multiple and different perspectives.

### 1.4 Rights of Privacy

In a fundamental sense all social science invades the privacy of individuals. Among a variety of techniques, anonymity is the major method for protecting the men and women with whom one works. In our research proposal we phrased our concerns this way:

> One of the major methodological issues facing all social scientists is the rights of human subjects. Little empirical data exists regarding such issues. In an important sense returning to the lives of the Kensington staff can be construed either as a major invasion of their privacy or as a positive opportunity to recapture a major earlier period in their professional lives. By keeping an eye open and an ear alerted we hope to pursue some of the issues in the ethics of research. For instance, anonymity is a major proximal goal toward privacy. In talking with the current superintendent of the Milford District, regarding the feasibility of the project as a whole, mention was made of the original teaching staff. He commented that one of the original teachers had stayed on at Kensington for a number of years. On one occasion he had talked with her about the origins of the school. He reported, "You know, she never talked much about the early years of the school. I asked her who the teachers were (using the list of pseudonyms from the original report), she wouldn't tell me." Such a piece of data strongly suggests the importance of the development and maintenance of anonymity of the

> individuals in a field study. Here was a superintendent who knew the names of the original faculty from original records, who had read our final report with the coded names, and who did not know the individual connections. Granted that he could find out with a bit of effort, he was content to leave them and their experiences to their own privacy.
> (Research Proposal, 1977)

We raised these issues with most of the interviewees. Almost to a person they indicated that the coding for anonymity had really worked. The only real exception seemed to be Superintendent Spanman whose contacts in the world of innovation and professional education overlapped with ours in many instances. Some of these individuals from government, foundations, and universities came through Kensington/Milford while we were there and knew of him and of us. Further, and more than anyone else, Spanman has been a controversial individual both in whatever local setting he has been in as well as nationally. Supporters and opponents have on occasion followed him in his career journey across the country.

Others in the sample told stories of being in University classes on occasion when an instructor had lectured on the Kensington materials reported in Anatomy. The instructor hadn't realized that one of his students knew far more about the setting and experience than did the instructor. The former faculty members used their own judgment in communicating this knowledge to colleagues and teachers.

Several individuals commented on the reading of the original Office of Education report or the book that they were unhappy with how they had been presented in the materials. While this is always an issue in participant observation research, we did not, in the original report, give the participants a chance to react to the report and raise alternative views. Now we try to build these interpretations into the final report.[1]

## 1.5 Conclusion

Most of the issues of research method, epistemology, and metatheory appear in Volume VI of this report, Case Study Research Methodology: The Intersect of Participant Observation, Historical Methods and Life History Research. Our purpose here is merely to reemphasize that substantive findings are always entangled with a broader Weltanschauung or paradigm. Such world views legitimate certain ways of thinking and doing and eliminate others. And that seems much more important than we sometimes realize.

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[1] This alternative arises out of strong arguments by our colleagues at the University of East Anglia and the several Cambridge Evaluation Conferences (MacDonald and Walker, 1974, 1977).

# 2. ENIGMAS:
# UNRESOLVED ISSUES IN EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

Belatedly, enigma now joins career and belief system as one of our major concepts. The Webster and Oxford dictionaries refer to mysterious, perplexing, puzzling, obscure, and ambiguous events in an attempt to define things enigmatic. In a sense, an enigma is an awkward image, if not a contradiction as a scientific concept. Scientific concepts are supposed to break open puzzles rather than create them. Yet when we turn our life history data back on to the problems of innovation, education, and educational organizations, which is one of the major puzzles, we find a structure of sub puzzles which seems a step forward even though it leads us into questions which remain, in themselves, mysterious and perplexing.

## 2.1 The Domain of Educational Innovation

In recent years the concerns about educational innovation have received considerable attention. The literature has grown by the proverbial leaps and bounds. Even a snap shot view as presented in Figure 2 suggests the array of empirical, theoretical, and practical work in this domain. Our early intent in this section "was to be" a brief set of statements of what we think we have learned about educational innovation and a brief dialogue between us and the various students of innovation. That is, do we have things to say not encompassed in their theories and do they have comments critical of our generalizations. The list of people on our agenda appear in Figure 2.

Roughly we categorized them as sociologists, psychologists, and educationists, but most of them transcend any of these easy boundaries. Here, as elsewhere our ambitions and aspirations outran our time, energy, and material resources, consequently we have tried just to set the issue.

---

Insert Figure 2 about here

---

In the forward to this report we commented:

> In summary, our research is a unique blend of approaches to the problems and issues of Innovation and Change in American Education. It is grounded in the multiple aspects of a single school in a single school district. As in all case studies the particular events have major meanings for the actors in the setting, but, also, we believe that these events often capture images and ideas that have relevance for other people in other times and places. Recently, Geertz has spoken of these as "experience-near" and "experience-distant" conceptions.

In a sense, we have broadened these ideas of experience-near and experience-distant in our overall six volume report with the conception of perspective or point of view. As indicated in Figure 3, we suggest the half dozen different perspectives which have oriented each of the volumes in our overall report. When coupled with the major methodological focus and the substantive themes they give another kind of overview of the total project.

---

Insert Figure 3 about here

---

Sociologists

- Gross, et al (1977)
- Rogers (1962, 1971)

Psychologists

- Lewin (1948, 1951)
- Miles (1964)
- Sarason (1972, 1982)

Educationists

- Bentzen, et al (1974)
- Berman and McLaughlin (1975)
- Fullan (1972, 1982)
- House (1974, 1979)
- Lieberman and Griffin (1976)
- Whiteside (1978)

Figure 2: Major Positions in Educational Innovation

| Volume | Problem/Content/Theme | Major Research Method | Document Perspective/ Point of View |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | Genesis and Evolution of a School District | Historical | Natural History |
| II | Innovation and Its Contemporary Context | Historical | Board of Education/ Central Administration |
| III | Community and Neighborhood Change | Historical | Minority Population |
| IV | Kensington Today/ Policy Implications | Ethnography | Liberal Reformer |
| V | Faculty Careers/ Life History of True Believers | Life History | Participants/ Outside Theorists |
| VI | Theory of Methodology | Analytic/Reflective | Researchers |

Figure 3: An Overview of Kensington Revisited: Intersection of Problems, Methods, and Perspectives

In each instance we hope to be providing mirrors for educationists to see themselves better, that is more clearly, to be conscious of rephrased problems, and to create more viable options and alternatives.

As broad and as deep as we cut into our problem metatheoretically, theoretically, and methodologically we are haunted yet by the feeling that we have barely entered into the realm of ideas necessary for understanding the Milford/Kensington phenomenon. The apprehension seems afoot more broadly among professional educators. House (1979) in his "...ten year perspective on innovation", an essay discussed more fully earlier, comments:

> The topic of this article, however, is not broad educational change as such but rather the narrower subject of educational innovation--the deliberate systematic attempt to change schools through introducing new ideas and techniques. "Innovation is viewed as relatively isolated or programmatic alterations or as low level change, whereas reform involved a normative national and broad structural change." Of course, change and innovation cannot be distinguished neatly from one another... (1979, p. 1)

We are left with visions of abstract concepts and large domains of literature virtually untapped. The next direction would include "idealism", "utopian communities", and "reform" in their general sense and in the more restricted educational idealism, utopian educational communities and educational reform. When viewed historically and when viewed cross nationally and cross culturally the agenda becomes overwhelming. Truly enough to "haunt" one. Our data and interpretations suggest the topology of change, innovation, reform, and idealism is far from being clearly and simply demarcated.

But to return to our data and interpretations, even at a very general level of abstraction, our study of life histories argues that theories of educational innovation must include concepts and propositions about the personality of the innovators. More specifically we have found "belief system" to be a fundamental concept for such theorizing. Our results suggest that beliefs about innovation are not simple, peripheral, fly-by-night add-ons to the personalities of educational innovators. "Proactive" is a term which runs through multiple levels of abstraction regarding innovation. Paradigmatically it takes a stance on root metaphors--contextualist versus mechanical. Theoretically it argues for a theory of action alternative to more reactive, behavioristic positions. At a concrete situational level our people tended to be planning, choosing, self determining people who looked for, found, and got into situations supportive of their positions. In short, the domain of educational innovation requires a place for life history as a special perspective on personality theory.

Major life events--schools, peer networks, jobs, marriages, and deaths in one's family--are the class of variables influencing belief systems, and, parenthetically also being influenced by belief systems. Our interests have been rekindled in similar concepts such as developmental tasks and have been moved toward ideas such as experiential funnel which captures the long term channeling of experiences and resultant belief system.

These issues of biography, life history, and personality while important in their own right seem especially important as one moves along the continuum or across the domains from educational change to educational innovation to educational reform to educational utopia to educational idealism.

## 2.2 Life History, Biography, and the Individual Personality

Critiquing, rewriting, or extending, Matson's (1976) Idea of Man, is not on our agenda, although that is what is called for as we look at life history implications for educational innovation. As we have detailed elsewhere, our data have pushed us a long way on the road away from mechanistic or biological images of human nature. His "creator image", the person as a free agent, creative actor on the world stage, whose existence is open ended and characterized "by choice, contingency, and chance", is the direction we find ourselves going. Such a perspective raises questions with many of the assumptions underlying much of academic psychology, and, in our view, represents a part of a basic paradigmatic shift in social science. (Bernstein, 1978; Fay, 1975; Bredo and Feinberg, 1982).

Our intent in this brief summary and concluding section is not to recapitulate each of the interlocked sets of interpretations and generalizations that run through this lengthy volume. Rather, we will present very brief images from our interview with Chris and Dan Hun who have appeared only indirectly to this point, in the report. Dan had been hired to teach in the Transition Division, third grade; Chris came along as wife and mother of their less than year old child. When the Principal, Eugene Shelby, realized she had taught primary level and had experience in art, music, and creative drama, she joined the staff. After Kensington, Dan taught elementary school for several years. Chris gradually eased back into teaching at the College Lab School. In a paragraph or two she speaks to, summarizes, if you will, the woman's issue scattered through our report:

> Chris H: In the Lab School, yeah. And I didn't work there long because I became pregnant with Shirley and at that time they had a rule that you had to quit if you were pregnant. Antiquated. Can't be seen if you are pregnant or something. Anyway, I was that way at that point.
>
> LMS: Was it the Lab School that had that rule?
>
> CH: Yeah, and it was sad. I was a reason why they don't have that rule any more because they said that's ridiculous and they did hang on to me as long as they could. But I wanted to leave after a certain point anyway. So I did leave. I think I was there maybe two and a half years or something like that, at that time. So I knew the Lab School when we came back when our kids were in first and--Michael was in kindergarten, Shirley was in first grade, and I began teaching at the nursery school. So that gave me a nice feeling for what happens at those earlier stages of education, and kind of filled in a peg there and then I had the first grade and second grade and then at Kensington I had touch with other grades, was never in control of them or anything, kind of got a feel for what those different grades were and could do. Then after a year of being an assistant over there Dan and I were not happy with the education the children were getting in the public school and one way that we could afford to send our children to Lab School was if I was teaching there. And I frankly was ready to go back to teaching anyway. I had--I had--well, when I was teaching nursery school, what I did, was I added four hours of nursery school to everything else that I was doing in my life without deleting something else. I'm not too quick and really, looking back I think I cam pretty near to having a nervous breakdown or something. I just, like, got very confused and Dan, and I'm trying to do everything like Wonderwoman, you know, and finally, have someone tell me that my life was just a three-ring circus and that I had--I couldn't do everything all that well, you know. I had to slow down in one aspect of it and so I decided my house would be it,

and so, you know, you have a nice informal cluttered house. But that, that was nice. But then the next year I decided to apply for full time teaching at the Lab School, and I did, and they asked me, they said they had a kindergarten opening and a first grade opening and which one would I like to have, which one did I feel I could teach the best. Well, it was kind of a joke because I had had some first grade experience, but pretty far back, and I had taught second, I felt good about second grade, and I had taught the nursery school recently so I felt good about nursery school, so I sort of grinned at the principal and said, "Oh, either one, I can do either one," not knowing for sure whether I could, you know. But figuring the experience from either end would help. So they gave me the first grade and that's pretty much, I've been doing that...

Chris Hun's recollections of the people, involvement, and the excitement of Kensington went this way:

> LMS: What are some thoughts that you've had since then of Kensington? I was just asking before, what that experience, or the notion of Kensington meant when you first were attracted to it, since then, after your experience with the program, and the fifteen years, what floats to your mind when you think of Kensington?
>
> CH: Yeah.
>
> LMS: And what kinds of things...?
>
> CH: I mean, if you want sort of immediate, you know...first of all I think the people, you know, come to my mind. I think, you know, the group, the groups of individuals have intense relationships with one another, both healthy and bad ones, but there was definitely a lot involved in the human aspect of that school. I mean, a lot was purposely, I mean, the T groups and team teaching and all that, I mean, you had to come together. But there were a lot of other things. And I was in an interesting position in that I worked with everyone and how--I don't know if you remember but I did a lot with the reading program and so that I--there was some people who welcomed me and they made me really feel a part of the group and others that--used my turf--don't get too deep in here--and some people I feel like I don't know at all. I can't remember their names, what they looked like, some of the people in the upper division.

An hour or so later in the interview, after discussions of their mutual involvements, Chris came back with a further comment:

> CH: In a certain way I think my--that I'm scarred, whether in a bad way or a good way. It has stayed with me. I mean it still is a vital thing in my mind where I've taught in other schools and it doesn't hit my being the way that that particular experience did and I think that being in that situation, you were involved in more than just teaching, I mean, there was a lot more involvement to you as a teacher in that school. You had an investment in the total institution to a certain degree. I mean, you wanted every part of it to succeed and even if you weren't working in independent skills--independent studies or whatever--you hated to hear when there was friction because somehow it had something to do with the total unit of value in the school which, you know, was in the eyeballs of certain people, but beyond that we just all were working for that, you know, there was that investment. You know, planning of the curriculum and if something went right for Sue and her Mars Man hopping on rocks or whatever she did there, we all felt great about it. If something flopped it was a bad day for everyone. There was a lot more than just you being there teaching, kind of... But, yeah, I think it has made a more lasting effect on me as a person than any other school experience that I have had.

One of the most personally fascinating parts of the series of interviews arose with Dan Hun who was pursuing a dissertation in curriculum. We traded names, references, and ideas on the New Sociology in Britain--Young and Bernstein, on curriculum development--Stenhouse, Elliott and Adelman and evaluation, MacDonald and Walker, and the broader interpretive and philosophical paradigms--Schutz and Toulmin. Interspersed with this was a story of nearly a decade of work toward a Ph.D. Once again we were into the complications of Ph.D. work--advisors who came and went, faculty members with changing interests, personally interesting problems and areas but with minimal or no department or faculty interest. And, on the other hand, spouse, family, part time jobs, and needs for income. Dan commented this way regarding pieces of that:

OBS: Are you actively working on a dissertation?

Dan H: I haven't worked on it since August.

OBS: Since you started...?

DH: I started this new job the week before Labor Day at Community Hospital. I had been working at the dissertation for the past three years. That seems awfully long--I don't know--it sounds like a lot of nothing, really when I start to talk about it--it may have something worthwhile--

OBS: When is it--an analytic, philosophical piece or an empirical piece or...?

DH: No, it is more analytic. It is more conceptual and analytic rather than empirical.

OBS: Just listening to you trace the intellectual history seems to me it has been a good few years.

DH: Oh--it has been exciting, you know, for me because I, if you've ever, and I'm sure you have, if you've ever felt that you are on your own, you've found something and then all of a sudden it has been found that a whole lot of other people find it and you were there before them. You know, like your intellectual journey, you kind of feel that you were kind of a pioneer, you know, and you never blew your horn and that's part of my, you know, I never went to the public with this because I didn't think it was that new, because other people--I'm just reading in a library and it's all there in the library but around here, gee, well, that really was...

The account raises another image of the conundrum of graduate work at the Ph.D. level, the continuing tension of individual versus organizational responsibility, of intellectual excitement and open ended programs. Finally it illustrates the entanglements into the whole web of one's life--spouse, family, home, and career--and one's lifetime. A decade is no mean unit of time in one's three score and ten.

The religious theme appeared, before we knew it was a theme, and we pursued it only minimally with Dan and Chris:

LMS: What brought you to the neighborhood? Proximity or...?

DH: No, the fact that the University's Divinity School had a reputation of being a place where one could pursue studies in religion without the attached sense of being religiously committed--that you could study religion as a field of inquiry rather than as a commitment of Faith. I had been accepted at Eastern University and at Ivy Divinity Schools when I graduated from College.

LMS: Are you ordained now, as a minister or...?

DH: No, I never was ordained. I have my Bachelor of Divinity degree but never entered the ministry as a full time religious vocation.

LMS: It would be like studying education without going through a Teacher Training Certification program?

DH: No, it would be like studying education going through a Teacher Certification program but never doing a year and being certified. I could be certified as a minister. I have all the educational credentials but I don't have the professional ordination which in my denomination means that you must accept a call from a specific congregation to serve as their pastor.

LMS: Well, did you do the internship with a vicarage or whatever it is called?

DH: Yeah, yeah.

LMS: Oh, I see, you have to do that?

DH: Yeah, yeah. We did a year of internship up in Northern State.

CH: We really liked it.

DH: Yes we did. A whole year.

LMS: When you were on your vicarage or internship or...?

DH: Yes, internship. It was all internship. And we spent a year in a Presbyterian Congregational--it was a Federated Church. The minister was a Union graduate and the Church had, years ago, joined together two different denominations, the Congregational and the Presbyterian. It was called the Federated Church. We still hear from them. We still receive their weekly notices--there's a new minister.

The nature of belief systems and true belief received a personal interpretation:

> LMS: Paul's question about like--what you think of now about Kensington...
>
> DH: State it again, rephrase it.
>
> PFK: Well, we talk a lot about the people, those are always the powerful, dominant elements, I think, when you think back over the years, but Kensington was lots of things.
>
> DH: Sure, sure.
>
> PFK: You build a school from scratch and then create a curriculum and then create leaderless teams and a whole set of things. Have any of those ideas or thoughts continued with you? As either the worst ideas you ever heard or some provocative ones or is there anything left over in addition to exciting people and lots of hard work and sweat?
>
> DH: Several things have persisted. One, I think, that has stood out was that here, there was a group of people who, I think, achieved a remarkable, a remarkable amount of what they believed would be possible in terms of making a difference in the teaching and in the quality of learning with a bunch of kids that a lot of studies have said is not, at least as much of a possibility as I think had been achieved. Now, given the constraints of intelligence, of I.Q., given all of the traditional restraints and constraints of what teachers and schools are supposed to be able to deal with, I thought there was a belief about what one could do and the kind of sincerity--and this may be the true belief. Now, I think there is something and I think you guys may have phrased it, you know, about true believership. Hoffer may not be the right reference for this. I think maybe Josiah Royce or William James may be better here, and that is that a belief about the possibility of improving who we are and what we are about and the depth--the suffering through, that kind of belief.
>
> LMS: More a general perfectability of mankind in a sense--I don't mean that as a cliché...
>
> DH: Not necessarily perfectability, but the fact that, you know, there's a--if you don't try, you don't make--you really can't say whether it's there or not. But you suffer through it, and that in suffering through or undergoing the experience of trying to improve, of living with the idea that it may be, that there may be a possibility. And I think this may have been due to age, a kind of an optimism, a bias of optimism.

There was a tremendous bias toward optimism. There was a tremendous willingness to forego a skeptical kind of attitude, a cynicism. I think a guy like Bill Kirkham may have been too cynical and because of his cynicism may have been rejected. Now that's just a...

PFK: It's an interesting insight. There was a shared buoyancy--that the norm was very clear--you've got to believe, you've got to have an optimistic outlook and cynicism was perhaps punished, is that what you're suggesting?

DH: It wasn't punished, in the--I don't think we would have --I don't think there was a shared acceptance of the way in which the Bill Kirkham incident was handled.

PFK: As an example, it would not be well received, you would not go that far.

DH: Exactly, exactly--I think that people wanted to be more positive, wanted to be...

CH: They wanted the thing to succeed--and that was a required quality.

DH: To succeed and that required a bias--that's what I say, it's a bias toward optimism, a bias toward making a difference, given the odds, given the, you know, the certain kind of constraints of schools and schooling and I don't think that stuff had come out in the literature, but I think that here was a group of individual teachers who, you know, were pulled together from all sorts of different places and different backgrounds.

The interview raised items about almost every aspect of the school --the organizational structure of the school, the personality and administrative style of the principal, the nature of the consultants, the potency of the T group socialization, the team teaching aspect and the large curriculum agenda. Most of their remarks were congruent with the description and analysis which appeared in Anatomy of Educational Innovation. We raise one more illustration that captures the flavor of the interview:

PFK: What about--one other aspect of it--let's say the leaderless teams as a notion, tell us a couple of things, as to what you would or would not do again?

CH: I think I learned something about teams. It seems to me that teams really are so greatly dependent upon the individuals involved. I mean, not every two people in the world can make a good team. I mean, I think really well functioning teams must be rare and it seems to me that the best possible way of forming a team would be to take two people who know they have some things in common and want to work together and would like to try that and to feel that they can do that. We happen to have a team in our school now who did start the multi-age way and they have been together for years and get along famously and know what they're doing. They knew what they wanted when they formulated multi-age teams. I would question how good I would be as a team member because I am somewhat of a spontaneous person and I find it a little hard, like, if someone is going to come to my room at a certain time and wants me to—I find it a little hard to--I mean, I really have to grab myself by the lapels and say, "Okay, at 10:15 somebody's coming and be ready." Plan for that. If I were a team member, I could cut it because I try to do things well and good, and, in fact, it might improve me somehow. But I can think of one or two people in my school that I think I could work with because they would understand that quality about me and be willing to--well, in fact, the woman I work with and I jibe quite well that way because she is not rigid herself, so that if I go ten minutes over or suddenly turn around and do math instead of social studies, she says, "Well, groovy", you know, "She's doing that for a good reason." But someone else might not.

The vitality, the intellectual excitement, the multi-dimensional aspects of Dan and Chris, both as individuals and as a couple, vividly illustrate the kind of conceptions of personality and life history that we feel are necessary if one wants to think clearly about educational innovation.

## 2.3 Schooling: The Microcosm of the Good Society

One of our interviews provided us a glimpse of another part of the Kensington dream and how this dream was pursued and implemented at a different time and place from the original site. The conception of Kensington meant many things to its actors and designers but it contained a shared perspective of valuing the individual, helping that individual to maximize growth and, in a rather inarticulate manner, it contained a hope for nurturing that life within a shared, co-coperative democratic environment. The original study reported on desires for developing "fully functioning", "self-actualizing" individuals. Hopes were expressed for a self-governing emphasis within the school which would yield a readiness for life in a democratic society which would be superior to the preparation received in highly structured, more authoritarian educational environments.

For all of the reasons delineated in Anatomy, and perhaps more not identified, the effort failed to be sustained as a viable school environment for more than a few short years. (See especially Volume IV, Sailing Stormy Straits.) The vision of the school as a microcosm of a democratic society clearly survived in the mind of several educators from that original staff and this section is an attempt to trace one manifestation of that vision. The goals and methods of achieving those goals will be traced briefly and the current practices of one individual, Tom Mack, will be described to provide insights into the furthering of an educational ideology.

Presently Tom is serving as a principal of a tri-racial elementary school in the Southeastern part of the country. Nearly equal numbers of Black, White, and Latino children comprise the student body. The faculty is relatively young, having been hired or transferred when the school was built. Due to the student body composition, a wide range of federal and state programs exist from breakfast programs to English as a Second Language, and the usual variety of reading and math remediation programs.

Tom came to this state after three administrative positions following the Kensington experience. Immediately after leaving Kensington, he was asked by the Superintendent of an adjoining district to serve as an elementary principal. The intent of the Superintendent was reasonably clear from Tom's recall of the phone conversation:

> Tom Mack: He called me one day on the telephone, I don't know where he had met me or anything, but he said, "Tom, I've got a school over here that really needs to be changed, would you come over and change it?"

During the three or four years stay as Principal, physical changes were enacted which appear to be a direct spin-off from the previous years at Kensington. The striking physical plan of Kensington was based on the explicit notion that form can influence if not dictate function and Tom seemed to be continuing on in that tradition:

> TM: And what happened there was simply this--I walked in and looked at the building, and it was built in 1917, hadn't been many changes in it. They added another wing that looked just like all the other parts of it. A very old, very substandard building, but when I went over there I set up some models. I spent about five weeks I guess looking at the building, the staff, and the student body, and gave them the whole plan of

> the things that I wanted to change....We made some three room pods and some two room pods. We closed up the auditorium and made rooms out of it. I also got them to build or tie a section together between the buildings for us.

Tom began sketching the design on a note pad from a twelve year old memory and explained for us:

> TM: And what we did, we, the building was like this--all this completely here, rooms down here, and over here was rooms, and we just filled this area in here up on the second floor, and underneath was a covered playground, with an outside entrance coming up here, and this opened up, and you had restrooms here, opened up over here, and this was into the library. We knocked this wall out so that they had an L-shaped room, which would handle a full classroom of kids with an area here that they could come in through and then two little-scheduled rooms up here. And, direct access to the library. These kids did not have to leave this place. Except to go to P.E. out here or down here, or to the cafeteria down this stairs and in the door right here....You know, to me it seemed like they had a pretty good set up.

The vivid recall of the plan, the heavy emphasis upon physical changes being required to bring about instructional changes and the rapid nature of the changes were reminiscent of the Kensington effort.

Following this three or four year stint, Tom responded to the Superintendent's request to assume the principalship of the high school in that district. A rather frustrating year ensued which involved drastic Board changes, and culminated in the wholesale resignation of fourteen district principals in addition to Tom. The Fall of 1971 found Tom as a high school principal in the Southeast following his move from the previous positions. Since he was interested in returning to an elementary principalship Tom requested a transfer when an opening occurred. After four years a position became available and

Tom accepted it; another four year stint at this school was followed by a move to his present position as principal of the tri-racial elementary school described above.

Somewhere along this complex trail, Tom altered his notions of innovation and change. At Kensington and at his administrative post described above, Tom appears to have subscribed to the more rapid approach to change described in Anatomy as "the Alternative of Grandeur." The strong press for student self-direction at Kensington carried over to the staff as well and the Kensington staff had spent many hours attempting to first identify and shape the "institutional plan" and then to implement it. In the following exchange Tom argued the inefficiency of the approach:

> PFK: I would be very interested in your perception of Kensington. As you think about it now, what did it mean? What are some reactions--was it a success, a failure or don't you use those terms to think about the experience?
>
> TM: Well, I think it was a success. Anytime you get a group of people like that together, and you put a plan into operation, and it worked for the kids that were there and the teachers that were there. Had I any say in the management end of it, it would have been a little bit different.
>
> LMS: How would you have approached it differently?
>
> TM: I think the administration probably should have been a little bit more directive in some of the things that they did, in my opinion. The teachers were fighting among themselves, or hammering out what they thought should be done and so on and so forth. But, you can't deal with kids that way. You can't deal with elementary kids that way anyway, for a lot of those children there was not enough of what is, steadiness, if you will, or reliability of things that are going to happen from day to day.
>
> PFK: A case of too much all at once?

> TM: A case of too much all at once. I will give you a good example, if you are trying to change a classroom teacher for instance from book teacher, to one who used a unit method and individualizes instruction and so on and so forth, and they have never had that experience in this, there are a lot of those teachers, and most of them haven't had a Kensington, alright, go ahead and let them teach from the textbook method, okay, until they have trained maybe eight of the kids in how to do a research paper or how to do whatever it is they are wanting them to do. And then you take those eight kids and you make maybe four more groups, and you train those, and you keep doing that. But you have to train the children in the process that you are going to follow first. And then if you do that, they become a pretty good teacher of, you know, of a unit type of method. I think there was too much of relying on program materials in Kensington. Some children can't take program material without a great deal of training, at least not the unsophisticated kind of material we used there. I have seen terminals where you take a kid in and you teach him how to operate the terminal, and on a teletype kind of thing, and once you get him plugged into that you have him hooked for doing something like that. But most of the materials that were used at Kensington was software or stuff that they created themselves, and they didn't train children in the processes.

In addition to a reappraisal of the pace of development, Tom questioned the appropriateness of the match between school plan and the community needs:

> PFK: You mentioned that it (Kensington) was put down in the wrong place.
>
> TM: Yeah, wrong place, and I--I don't think there was enough preparation work done with the community, that is my own opinion. But we do that constantly in education. They did it in this building. They come out here and there are probably, then, buildings just like this one in this country, and you know, you go through America, and you go through a good community like Milford and you can look at the buildings and you can come within five years of when they were built, if you know architectural style. And so they do this here. I think this building is probably more successful at this school in operating an open school than Kensington. They did it different. They just build the plant, they took surplus teachers from the other schools, they took the children from, and being surplus teachers they were the ones that were the young ones, and they didn't have to, you know, you don't find many old people on this faculty.

> PFK: We were struck with that.
>
> TM: Yeah, well, that is unusual for this county because of the way our system works, if you are surplus in the school the last one on board is the first one to leave. And then you are placed in the order that you have been in the district. Anyway, to come back to Kensington, there didn't seem to have been enough preparation, and there wasn't here, and that is why this building--the form of the building has been prostituted because of the thinking of the old, old line thinking that has come in. I don't know if you can ever do that. Perhaps the oldness has to develop within a certain time. But I think you stand a better chance of doing that with young people, who know that their jobs are on the line and so on and so forth, right across the board. I worked out in the community here quite a bit.

In addition to the method for achieving district changes, Tom articulated a conception of the state's primary role in education and a means for achieving these ends instructionally. In brief, Tom argued several points. First, the state is totally in charge and any one feeling local control has every really been the norm is mistaken. Second, the rules and norms of a school needs to be codified explicitly in the forms of hardbooks for students, teachers, and parents. This codification does two things: first, it takes the heat off the administrator who simply points to the code and says, "Whether you or I like it or not, these are rules we live by", and second, it encourages individuals to work collectively to achieve changes. In his view, the result of this process is the heart of the democratic process. The following comments elaborate his basic thesis:

> LMS: I'm hearing more and more in your comments regarding the realy potency of the state. Now you have made almost a direct comment that the state is responsible for the education of the citizens.

> TM: Yeah, well, I believe that--that is what the constitution says....I come back to something that education is a state function...I was at a meeting the other day at the University, it was an ASCD meeting. And, the Dean of the school was making this compassionate plea that we have lost control of education and curriculum and so on--Poppycock, we have never had it!

In addition to the inevitability of state control as a result of the Constitution, Tom appears to seize this opportunity to achieve two goals as a school administrator. First, it takes some of the accountability heat off him and his staff:

> TM: For example, you cannot retain a child more than twice in K2 or more than once in K3. If you do it twice you have to get special permission and you have to justify why you are doing it. You have to talk to the parents about it, why you are doing it, you have to let the area superintendent know when you are talking to them and what their reaction to it was. You see, and to me, that is what educators should do anyway.
>
> PFK: Forces some accountability?
>
> TM: It forces accountability, and that accountability doesn't bother me. Because, I don't miss shouldering that, because it means that I don't have to build all these systems myself.

In other portions of the interview Tom had made several references to the use of bureaucratic principles in achieving personal goals. He referred to competency based education and the testing program which is mandated by the state as another example. If he could point to the state requirement it enabled him to avoid use of a personal base for authority:

> TM: I like the way they do things in Southeast State for instance. We have to send out each year to our public, a state publication, called the Principal's Report or the School Report. It has to go out by November 1st, and it is a report on the progress of the school for the previous year.
>
> LMS: To the parents?

> TM: To the parents, it goes to every parent. They have a file at the area office downtown, and it tells what the budget is, and it tells what we are spending on this, and what our curriculum is, and then more and more teachers are doing a handbook. Now the handbook is also a requirement. The detail you put in is kind of up to the principal, but I think this is a good way of doing things. You know, getting it out.

Beyond the mere expediency or practicality of building on a Constitutional basis for administrative decision making, Tom appeared genuinely convinced of the notion of the school as a democratic work place:

> TM: And then the final thing that I wanted to mention on this too, and I have talked to the staff about this--another reason. I like the way the state operates--I think it is the best training ground for what a democracy really is all about. In other words, we have a policy and we have law and we have rules. Okay, you don't teach it to them by setting the parameters up and then having a process of dealing with it when they go beyond those parameters.
>
> PFK: They live in the system itself?
>
> TM: They live in the system itself, and they are trained into it. Then by that they also learn that teachers and administrators and kids also learn that that policy or law or whatever you want to call it isn't going to be the same for everybody. You see what I mean? If the policy is wrong, then the process that you have for addressing your grievances would make that quite apparent. But you don't just change it on your own. You get the policy changed. You get the procedure changed.
>
> PFK: The school, in effect, becomes a microcosm.
>
> TM: It becomes a microcosm, a democracy, and it is not a nose counting democracy. We never lived in that kind of democracy in this country. And I think it is one of the most important things we teach at school. We teach teachers that, we teach children that, we teach ourselves that.
>
> PFK: In effect, operationalizing what a democracy is? The children themselves acquire that by living in it, and also realizing that their teachers and principals are also subject to the same set of rules that are open to change, but until such time they govern...

> TM: And that is why I designed the kind of handbooks that I do. So that we are all working from the same base of information.
>
> PFK: You are governed by a common set of laws, a set of rules?
>
> TM: You know why I believe strongly that way? When I look at the history of mankind, and of this country particularly, we have got our freedom because of that. We didn't have our freedom at first. We developed the law, and then we got our freedom.

Among the many things we are not, another is political scientists. But what we are arguing is that students of educational innovation must be. And the kind of social and political theory that is required is one that contains both scientific and normative elements as theorists such as Bernstein (1976) have argued. Tom Mack was offering us an important first lesson in that kind of theory.

### 2.4 Deviancy in an Innovative Organization

In any organization, but especially in organizations whose ideology focuses on individuality, freedom, and democracy, the issues of diversity, nonconformity, and deviancy are major concerns. How much difference can any group tolerate, if not support? Several faculty members spoke to aspects of this enigma.

If, as one of the faculty members indicated, hindsight tends to be much more acute than foresight or vision at the time, what could be better than 15 year old hindsight? At this point we were exploring the ebb and flow of faculty diversity in the Kensington School: David Nichols sets one aspect and one view of the problem:

> David Nichols: I think he had problems with me because I was so stubborn...'cause I was just obstinate, you know, and I think Eugene had infinite patience with me.
>
> (Laughter)
>
> DN: I say, "Bless him for that, Lord" 'cause I should have been whomped up the side the head and said, "Hey, get out of here or shape up" and honestly, that's about how I would handle a guy like myself today. As a matter of fact, I don't think I would have even hired him if I could have judged where he was coming from and wanted, you know, that much freedom and that much liberal thinking, you know, I would have just said, "No way baby, it's time for us to part company" and I would have done it in mid-stream, half way through the semester.

Such was one view.

But in the first weeks of the first year of Kensington's existence the major instance of difference centered on Bill Kirkham. In our earlier account we posed this as "The Kirkham Affair." In the summer workshop, before school had formally began, he was transferred to another school, as teacher, assistant principal, and member of a curriculum task force. Except for Bill, only a few of the faculty members recalled much of the episode. As we explored it, we found several items that enlarged the earlier picture and raised aspects of the enigma.

The recollections of Kensington had a "spotty quality" with each of our participants as they recalled and accented different items:

> LMS: We wanted also to come back and pick up a little bit on your perceptions or recollections of events at the school, the kinds of things that stuck with you over the years and we started to talk just about one instance of your reactions to the whole business with Bill Kirkham when we were talking at dinner last night and you said you had at least some recollections of your emotional reactions to that?

> Teacher: Yeah, oh, I can remember sobbing, just sobbing about it. Just, I mean you know, there had been so much hype on what a group we were, cohesiveness, and before we even got started, it seemed that a power structure conflict splintered us. And it just seemed totally, you know, my God, how can they--here I'm believing in this--it was, you know, truth was being disseminated at those meetings and they were getting rid of someone because he didn't get along with somebody else.
>
> PFK: How do you remember the incident?
>
> Teacher: You mean what happened? Just that he, and I assumed it was he, and Eugene as my memory--I'm not even positive of that any more, that they were two--both of them wanted to control the situation and they both couldn't and so he had to go because he was the more expendable at that point. I can remember his not, Bill, not melding in with the group in the group discussions but still he was part of our family, you know.
>
> LMS: Who did you talk to?
>
> Teacher: Oh, it was several of the staff. 'Cause I sobbed on his shoulder in the car outside the apartment, there were five or six of us in the car and we had been somewhere, at somebody's house.

In Bill Kirkham's view, he had been hired by Steven Spanman, the Superintendent, and he became a working colleague of the Assistant Superintendent, Jerl Cohen:

> BK: The State Curriculum Director said, "There's somebody I want you to be in touch with, his name's Steven Spanman." And he told me what Steven was doing and they were pretty enthused about it. Although he was a structure guy and so he was thinking down the line about--he didn't know any of the particulars about where Kensington was going or anything but he said Steven impressed him. He said, "You really need to be in touch with him" and so I said, "Okay, I will." And I think he maybe gave Steven a call. There was some kind of an entree. I don't know what it was, but at least maybe Steven knew that I was going to come. I picked up the phone, I called him, and I said, "Dr. Spanman, I'm ..., I'd like to come to visit with you and I would like to come talk with you about your school." And I strapped my 4 x 8' boards on top of my car--a couple of 'em or one of 'em--took some pictures of the stuff from the walls...

LMS: This lounge?

BK: Yes, and took off for Milford.

PFK: Would that have been the spring or summer before?

BK: It was the spring--it was the spring before I was employed. I mean, like early spring because when my superintendent learned what I was doing or at least found out that I was interested in changing he said, "No, don't do that Bill, you stay here in Millersville." And he said, "We're goin' to be moving to a curriculum director. One more year where you are, and then we will make that change," which would have made three years as elementary principal. And he sure enough did after I left, he went ahead with it and so--but I made the choice at that particular point in time, very early on in the spring, to go to Milford.

LMS: Let me back you up one step right here--where did your colleague hear about Steven?

BK: I don't know. I really don't know. Well, I guess I do know too--because Steven wrote or had written when he was down in the southeast, I believe, a whole set of specifications which were to be employed in a non-graded school and he put them in a guide form. And later I carried them around for ten years. I'm sure that's where he heard about him and when he came and--you see, Steven had been in Milford I guess a year or two before. I think Steven had been there three years and so I caught in on the last year. Plus, Steven had written or was involved in writing curriculum work and so that's how I'm sure he knew about him. When I went down there and visited with Dr. Spanman and showed him what I was doing. As I recall, he employed me, if not on the spot, it was at least without talking with Shelby and Cohen. Maybe I met 'em because they were around because, as I recall, Eugene had been employed a year before so I met them but Steven was the one who employed me.

PFK: What was the capacity? Was that--you mentioned earlier as an administrator--what was your understanding with Spanman as to...?

BK: Okay, when I went on with Steven it was--he hired me, and this is one reason why I never did feel like I was either promoted or demoted or whatever, because he just hired me.

LMS: To work for Milford?

> BK: Yes, he had flexibility. It was like hiring a utility infielder, and I was happy for the opportunity. He said I would have the opportunity to be in curriculum. He said that he wanted me on the staff of Kensington. Now don't misunderstand me, he did hire me for that, but it wasn't all that firm at the point that he hired me. I don't recall it being because we still had to go through Eugene, maybe that was his thing.

Second, the internal contacts and the extension of his work in curriculum was very significant for him:

> BK: Also at Kensington or at Milford I had the opportunity to serve on a couple of the curriculum committees and to be over there working with the heads of the department. And the way that we approached that was with Jerl Cohen, he trusted me, I think, in a certain way, I don't know, we were friends, personal friends, in a sense, professional/personal. And we--he let me learn a great deal, and worked with me in my learning a great deal about the overall curriculum design in the school system, and what going along with what was happening at Kensington. And that going along with what the broad picture, rather than looking just specifically at the instructional level. And in that regard, I was tremendously greatful that that opportunity came along, and I have really been able to utilize that in my own years thereafter.

Third, during the year he made contact with a number of eminent educators working in the team teaching, non-graded, individualized instruction movement in the United States. He saw this as a major outcome of the year.

In his view it was the curriculum differences, the issue of structure versus no structure, that became significant in his difficulties at Kensington:

> BK: I was coming in with a different set of anticipations than Eugene was.
>
> LMS: Yeah, I'm getting an image of a real build up of a major contribution to the whole development of the building and its program?

BK: Yes, well, in the light of where I was coming from, in looking at non-gradedness I was looking not necessarily at the sequence of structure, but at least there being structure. Now when Steven took me to the Nerve Center of the school, that was never developed, when I was there--but one of the things that I could begin to envision is computer storage of learning activities, kids going and picking them out in a sequence, and a whole bunch of teachers being able to catalog and analyze where they were and that sort of thing, and so those anticipations were all built into where I was at the time when I was raising questions with Eugene along the way. And those kinds of anticipations were interpreted as being, seeking a greater structure than what, where he was willing to come from, and I think, you know, that's...

PFK: Could you talk a bit more about points of similarity and differences, as you recall them from the curriculum ideas that you were developing and the Kensington, as much as emerged during the pre school?

LMS: Let me give a twist on that one if I might--would it be easier to talk about your perception of the evolution of your relationship with Eugene? Would that get into that kind of thing or is that broader or narrower or...?

BK: Well...

LMS: Or does it--it seemed to me that they obviously intersect at some point?

BK: Well--let me talk about Cohen, the Assistant Superintendent, and the other part of it first, okay?

LMS: Okay, and then we'll swing back.

BK: Okay, Jerl and I developed a very good relationship early on, and in the sense that he was coming from a Ralph Tyler position or whenever Ralph Tyler did his syllabus at the University of Chicago, looking at societal, institutional, and instructional level of decision making and setting up a curriculum design. And that was all Cohen lived by, not all, but that was a big part of where Cohen was and so I related to that because that was coming from a structure, kind of a structural point of view. Now Jerl and I began to relate, and when Eugene, I thought at the time when he came in, in the pre school workshop, either he didn't want structure, any structure at all, or a maximum degree of freedom for the teachers to do their own thing because they were the best in the country. Now they were the best in the country but we differed in, I guess, in looking at the amount of structure or the amount of freedom and I put freedom in quotes. I felt

> like that for accountability of the teacher, accountability of the parent and the accountability of the child, all of my experience had been predicated to knowing where you're going, where you've been, and that sort of thing. Those are the kinds of structural questions that I wanted answered. Those were the kinds of structural questions that were avoided and those were the kinds of structural questions that led to my transfer over to Marquette.

In short, the central issue of deviancy in an innovative organization, that is, how much innovation can an innovative organization tolerate unravels into a systemic problem. Who originally does the hiring? Who has the power to make formal personnel changes? What alternative positions, roles, and activities are available? Who are the replacements? What are their strengths and weaknesses? How does one reconcile long and short term issues for the person and for the organization?

## 2.5 Leadership, Charisma, and Participation

For one more time we want to think about the concepts of charisma, participatory decision making and leadership as they help sort out the enigma that is Eugene Shelby, Principal. Any analysis of a social reform movement or educational innovation should benefit from a look at leadership. Throughout the earlier analysis by Smith and Keith, (1971) the interesting and rather confusing trail of the building principal was described and examined. The varied perceptions of Shelby have not dimmed with the passage of time. In fact, the extreme variability of the perceptions of the man, his mission, and his style have sharpened with the passage of time and in some cases have taken on an added intensity. In this brief section we would wish to document the different perceptions held of Shelby, the man and the principal, and to continue an analysis of this educational leader and the enigma he represents.

## 2.51 Staff Perceptions

The most comprehensive and analytical view of Shelby was provided by Jerl Cohen who had served as the curriculum director and Assistant Superintendent in Milford. Perhaps as a result of retrospective analysis, Cohen was feeling some degree of guilt at not having provided the support and help necessary to keep the school going. At any rate, Cohen had this lengthy comment about Shelby:

> Spanman, the Superintendent, was using Milford District and I was using Milford District. I think Shelby was not. Now see, Shelby was a better man than me, if you use those terms better. I think he is a better man, I think Shelby is an outstanding human being. He is one of the most moral persons I've ever met. In fact, I would think he is the most moral person I've ever met. I think he is a very principled person. He is not the type of person to inspire. Shelby would not be fun to be married to. He is not adventuresome, he's not careless enough, he's too responsible, he's too predictable.
>
> Shelby probably had more vision about what an elementary school could be than probably anyone in the United States including John Goodlad. He had a tremendous vision about what an elementary school could look like and should look like. Compared to Spanman and myself, he was ten to fifteen years ahead of us. Eugene introduced to us the idea of starting off with people who were fully functioning. He emphasized, more than we would have, process in school, ala science. He introduced to us more fully than we understood, the concept of independence of children in the learning materials center. He had the vision of seeing the complete elimination of textbooks, which we would talk about but never think of doing. He had the idea of developing materials, packets, curriculum packets, and everything. Shelby had a great vision, a great vision. See, he taught the same way that proponents of open education taught. See, that was an open education school and they didn't start toying with open education until Featherstone wrote his first article in the New Republic after visiting Britain. Shelby knew nothing about the British experiment, he invented those notions, in a sense. I don't mean totally from nothing but Eugene put that thing together. His division of the school was not that dramatic, but the total package was astonishingly complex at that time.

While retrospection can enhance the view it is clear that this thoughtful and knowledgeable scholar of education held Shelby in extremely high esteem. He felt the man may have lacked the capacity to translate ideas into practice but fully credited him with the ideas, in fact, the vision that no one else quite grasped. This might be characterized as the view from above. Cohen as curriculum coordinator observed Shelby from a distance; from the safety of a central administration office. He observed what Shelby had attempted to do and in his retrospective view felt the man had a tremendous grasp of education, far ahead of the rest of the nation.

The view from below was quite varied and equally interesting. David Nichols was a former faculty member who had undergone a rather dramatic shift in his personal life and had moved from an extremely open, unstructured, undisciplined view of the educative process toward a much more carefully structured, disciplined and moral, Christian perspective. The decade and a half had impact both on his own life and on his perception of Shelby. Nichols indicated his views in the following passage:

> If he (Shelby) was interviewing me for a job in a school I wouldn't take it. Now if he's changed and would be more assertive and lead and fulfill the role of a principal, you know, rather than just kind of being in the background and reacting. Shelby was reacting, he was more of a reactor to all the pressures that were coming to bear. I would have to work for more of a leader.
>
> I think where Shelby was personally concerned he had a great effect on that system, on the whole school. I had tremendous respect for Shelby's intellect, his intelligence, and his ability, tremendous ability, no question about that. As a matter of fact, I don't--I didn't have any question about his

> ability to be a good principal but for some reason he could not. He couldn't pull off the leadership part of it in such a way to get the school really going the way it should have been going by the end of that first year.
>
> He (Shelby) had a distant relationship. He kept a distance, we didn't have much contact with him during the year and we had very few meetings that year if I remember, very little contact and I think that was because of his problem, he had to stay away from the staff, he couldn't get in there and relate, he couldn't lead, he couldn't direct, he couldn't make decisions and say this is the way it's going to be.

The similarities and differences in these two accounts are interesting. In Cohen's view, Shelby's leadership style was intricately bound in with his educational philosophy. The brilliance as Cohen might describe it, was that Shelby led by not leading. His vision of what education was about for children was of one piece with his view of how faculty and administration worked within the school. One does not lead by leading. One leads through osmosis; through sharing experiences, and much as Shelby had drawn on his earlier observation of colleagues as a way of shaping his administrative and educational views, similiarly he hoped that a faculty would absorb his views and his perspective on education or they would acquire their own. This view contrasts rather sharply with that of Nichols in the quote above. Nichols underwent a born again religious experience and this perhaps contributed to his view of Shelby as a weak man. He felt his ideas and his intellect were strong but he lacked the power, the stamina, the resolution to lead. And as he put it most bluntly, "I would have to work for more of a leader."

A third and slightly different perception of Shelby was shared by one of the female teachers. While she seemed to glimpse the same aloof quality which others had spotted, she attributed this less to a competence dimension as in the previous example. She also did not credit Shelby with a philosophical leadership stance which called for this aloofness but quite the contrary, seemed to attribute this distance quality as pretentiousness:

> Teacher: And Eugene was a difficult person to work with and in some ways that brought people closer, I think.
>
> LMS: Do you want to contrast him a little bit with the other principals that you have worked with or taught with?
>
> Teacher: Sure, I think the thing that bothered people the most, including myself, about Eugene, was that most of us were low keyed, down to earth, you know, we didn't have many pretensions about--I think I would describe most of the people there, or at least the people that I remember, got along with, they related pretty honestly. We had fun together, we worked hard together, but Eugene was pretentious. He was sort of above it all and tried, I think he tried real hard, but didn't have a natural quality of relating, being able to talk to the people there and maybe that's another reason why we were closely bound because we felt like a lot of the problems we had to work out ourselves instead of having a principal that would solve or support us or whatever. You know, I can think right now of my last principal, who is now in Washington, D.C. He also had kind of a standoffish quality and yet he was very down to earth and very open and you could go in there and say, "I'm really worried. I have this parent coming and, oh gosh, you know." And he would sit right there and listen to you, with his scruffy shoes, and, you know, casual attire and something you knew that he was listening to you and it was thing, something in the air. Eugene didn't have that, he should not work with people. He does not have the PR it takes to work with other people. He may be a very good administrator as far as the desk work and that sort of thing but that school, at that time, needed more drive of a different sort from the principal.

Yet another perception of the same enigmatic quality of the principal was described in retrospect by still another faculty member. Again the same aspect of Shelby was identified but a slightly motive attribution process is at work. The interviewer has been probing regarding the teacher's recollection of Shelby's style and asked Alec Thurman to contrast Shelby with other people that he had known in the public schools. We pick up the interview at the following point:

> LMS: Can you contrast Shelby with the high school principal where your son went to school; where you said they are doing a lot of the same kind of ideas, in a sense, and that the principal there has an intense interest in kids? Somehow your son apparently responded to the school atmosphere if not to him directly and it sounded as though you made a statement something to the effect that the principal kind of holds things together. Is he similar or different from a guy like Shelby?
>
> AT: Yeah, it's almost as if I think Shelby seemed to have a very high intellectual commitment to participatory decision making, almost to the point of being unable to take that role of leader. Now this principal in the current school, I think has that same commitment but he sees himself as kind of responsible for seeing to it that, by God, they will participate. And then of carrying things out, that's the part he does, he has no trouble, this fellow has no trouble, making decisions.
>
> LMS: Yeah, once things get settled they go.
>
> AT: That's right. As an example of this, I can't imagine Shelby ever doing this, you know, acting this quickly, but I might really be wrong, but when our son was a senior he went with a Spanish class. They took a month field trip to Mexico and while there he bought a leather hat, brought it back, wore it to school. Well, it really isn't very unusual at this school, they didn't have much dress code, but they hired some college kids; they call them bouncers, they patrol is what they're doing. In an open school like that, they have to watch the doors, I guess, and they watch the lunch room and they are in a very untenable position. They're the disciplinarians and nobody respects them so one of them came up to my son and said, "You can't wear your hat in here like that. You can't wear that hat to school." And so he took it off and left and went to see the counselor, classical kind of thing, and said, "The bouncer said I couldn't wear this hat, is that true?" And the counselor said, "There isn't any rule about that, it's not a rule." and it isn't, and all that, so he put the hat back on and the bouncer took him into the

> assistant principal, a disciplinarian of the old school who got assigned over there and this fellow said, "If you wear that hat again, you're suspended." And it was the end of the day on a Friday, and so our son came home and debated all weekend what he was going to do, and we offered to call and those kinds of things and he said, "No, I'll just have to see." We knew they couldn't send him home without due process, and so the assistant principal, when he wore his hat, he took him in and gave him a lecture and so on, eventually then we called the principal. And it was over, for he just said simply, "Well, of course he can wear the hat," with no discussion--nothing. He just acts very quickly. I can't see Shelby ever making a decision like that.

Yet another slant into the personality of Eugene Shelby was offered by a woman who had been teaching in a school system in North Central State and was contemplating a change at the time the original school began. A friend of hers had shared with her the information that someone was going to be recruiting for a position in an innovative school and she decided to go for the interview. Her recollection of that interview fifteen years later gives a unique glimpse of the power of Eugene Shelby to interest and to excite at least one educator about the commitment and importance of education for children:

> PFK: Obviously Kensington was a very special and a very unique place. The people were, the building was--what do you think made that, for you? Why was it the unique experience that you remember?
>
> Elaine K: It's like all of you embarking on a voyage. We are forced together, first of all. We have to rely on each other. We have common problems that link us. The answers aren't all laid out for you, you have to search together. You were chosen, so you felt like I've got to come across and after all, they did place their trust in me. I've got to do my best for them, schooling these children.
>
> PFK: What was your connection? I am interested in how people learned about, became interested in, how did you land at Kensington?

ER: Well, I was teaching in this school and one of the teachers had been contacted. It was her first year of teaching, I believe, and she had heard through the University about it and then she was quite an innovative person herself and she said they had inquired if she would like to come for an interview. And she said she didn't have it together--and she wanted to stay where she was at least another year before she would do something like that, but she had--when she learned of the kind of program it was, she had somewhat--she knew someone on the staff that she felt would fit into that program. And she mentioned it to me and she gave me the telephone number, and, so, I did call the employer and talked to Eugene Shelby on the phone and set up an interview on a Friday night--you know how Friday nights are anyway about this time of year probably or earlier and I went down to the University on a Friday night after a hard day at--hard week and went in there and was in there for I think it was about three hours. I have--had never and have never been through anything like that in my life. When it was over, I felt as though, instead of walking out that door, I would like to have slithered under it. He asked such deep questions and I bared my soul on every--not just on teaching things. I have never had an interview like that--that was the most in depth interview I had ever had.

PFK: Such as?

ER: Oh, just everything--started out with philosophy and I really bugged him. He asked me what my philosophy is about education--"My kids have fun while learning." Just every little thing. Well, how would you do that? You know, I'd say something and then--"How would you make that happen." Everything I said--at least there were two or three questions. I had to prove it. I said it. Well, now he took it apart and made me prove each segment.

PFK: And break down very concretely and asking classroom behaviors and things?

ER: And every kind of a behavior situation, every kind of learning situation, just--I would have loved to have a tape recording of that interview because I--and I felt like that I had just been split wide open and drained out and I laid out my soul and I felt like I had done a rotten, rotten job.

PFK: Were you attracted to the job--right when it was over, were you as excited as before or less so?

ER: No, I thought well, I've done it and won't get that--what I have seen. This has been awful but at the same time it's an experience I'll never forget and probably an experience that made me grow, and I erased it. I thought that takes care of that. One thing to chalk up, and now I'll get down to tomorrow. Let's see, now tomorrow I'm going to go down and pick out some new bedspreads. That's what I did.

PFK: You didn't think he would offer you the job because why? Why did you feel you hadn't done well?

ER: I felt, I don't know. He said that--you know, when you go for an interview you kind of have some ideas of what you're going to say. I said things that I didn't even know that I was going to say. I had been asked things that I had never thought about before. Never looked at before.

PFK: Do you think he was highly skilled or do you think that was an invasion of your privacy?

ER: That was extremely skillful. He knew what he wanted and he knew how to get it.

PFK: What was your reading of Eugene when you finished this three hour grueling? Did you have a clear idea as to where his head was and what he wanted?

ER: I knew right then that I would love to work for him.

PFK: Is that right? What was your image of him at this time? Why did you think that you would love to work for him?

ER: Because I was--I knew exactly where I stood with him and I would know because of how he answered me and talked to me, I knew that he would back me up on this and this and this. I could see that our ideas about working with kids were down the same channels--do things in different ways. We thought alike and yet me made me think of what things I'd never look at, you know. He knew what every cell in my body was like when I left there.

PFK: That's amazing. I didn't have any idea. I've never asked anyone about the interviews of Eugene Shelby.

ER: Oh, that's--of the whole Kensington experience--Shelby is as vivid as anything.

PFK: Is that right? Were some of the questions--I find it fascinating because you reacted very negatively to sensitivity training--you were asked to expose your innermost thoughts and feelings and beliefs but in this setting you were asked to do many of the same things and you found that extremely positive.

ER: Well, I had to, I didn't have any choice. If there had been a group of us there I wouldn't have answered.

PFK: Was it a kind of personal trust that he was able to develop that maybe made the difference with you eventually?

ER: I was compelled to and in the other situation it was an equal switch. And I had a choice there and I had a choice not to--too.

PFK: And you just slithered out under the door?

ER: Well, I felt like it. I just felt like I had bared my soul and had done very poorly and probably--you know I got to the point where my mouth was dry. I remember my mouth--my tongue felt like it was two inches thick and my mouth would say several things and not enunciate clearly. I had images of that coming back to me and when I left, my gosh, how could I--that was a terrible sentence, you know. I remember just being that way and yet not tense, not tense from his presence, but tense for fear of what I was going to--how goofed up I was throughout and how badly I was doing.

PFK: You were very much excited about the School and working for him?

ER: I went home and told Mother--"Can you imagine what that school's going to be like? This is what the principal would like to see happen and I went on and she said, "Well, that's where you belong," and I said, "No, I don't, I loused it all up, I did a rotten job and that's that."

PFK: Then what happened after that? After you got your bedspreads--what happened? When did you next hear from Eugene?

ER: It was only a couple of weeks later or less than that. I remember that I was really shocked and then the thought went through my mind--there must not be anybody else that wants to go.

PFK: But you immediately said yes or did you have second thoughts?

ER: It was probably one of the best moves I ever made. I loved the fact--I loved to be with groups and I talked to people about it. When I talked to people about it, it was always in a positive way.

Elaine's view after 15 years remained consistent with the excitement of that first interview. In a later part of the interview she was presented the following statement and shared her response:

> PFK: At the end of one year almost everybody in the school was gone. The end of two years, everyone was gone and the school died, failed, it fell apart. What's your reaction to that kind of statement? Agree--disagree?
>
> ER: No, nothing ever dies like that. I think that I was very sad when I heard that they had even built walls. Now I'm exposed to so many open classrooms that a few walls I feel are really necessary, a few. But I was extremely sad when I heard that this had happened to the school and I think that it was when Eugene left, that's what I thought was the key factor. There are not too many principals that are innovative or as diversified as he was and if you are not working for an administrator who feels that way, then you aren't going to perform that way because it isn't going to be accepted. So that kills it.

Another staff perception of an older, late career teacher was characterized as follows:

> Wanda E: Well, I think Eugene Shelby worked very hard to make the whole thing go. I think that he was the one that was made responsible for it and I think the Superintendent was pushing too, for reasons of notoriety rather than for the good of the children. Mr. Shelby put in countless hours trying to evolve the institutional plan and how to make it work. In fact, we thought when we were in the planning stage the month before the school opened that there was much too much talk and not enough down to earth planning. In fact the actual opening of the school's physical requirements were simply ignored to the point that we were frustrated before we began. We thought, when are we going to learn where we'll be, what we'll have to be, what we'll have to work with, how many children will we have, how many teachers, when do we find out these things, when will we get in there and put up bulletin boards and that sort of thing. No, really, you get nervous right before the beginning, you want to be ready for those kids. And we felt we weren't given the nuts and bolts information. It was almost as if it were an afterthought. I think Mr. Shelby was preoccupied with psychological aspects of things that didn't really concern us as practical teachers.
>
> LMS: Talk a little bit about him. Have you seen him much since then or what were things like the second year opposed to the first year?
>
> WE: Well, I think from being completely idealistic he changed the second year to being openly frustrated, and a

little let down that it hadn't worked out as ideally as he had envisioned and we felt let down when he left, it was completely demoralizing.

LMS: To the group that was there?

WE: The teachers that were left. There weren't many of us left after a year.

LMS: Yeah, why did he leave? What's your kind of understanding of that?

WE: I thought he left because he felt that it wasn't a success. That the efforts were not appreciated and that there was too much going against him. Personally I liked him and found him very easy to work with. He also was appreciative of my efforts.

## 2.52 Shelby on Shelby

Who was this man and what is the nature of this leadership style? As seen in staff perceptions drawn from interviews, most recognized an "aloofness" but differed sharply as to the delineations of the profile behind the mask. How did he see himself and how did he view the success or failure of his mission? How did Shelby react to the assessment of the Kensington effort by Smith and Keith in the earlier book?

The present interview followed by 15 years the life and struggle of the original Kensington and yet a vividness of recall of some of the earlier images was apparent. Shelby did remember the book and it was clear he had been disappointed with the description:

> Eugene S: Well, I guess that I see basically the book portraying Kensington as a failure. Not in so many words. Certainly I know there were problems the first year that were very different from the second year. I felt like that was really unfortunate. I think you do too. The epilogue I felt was highly unfair. I think that portrayed an image of the school that I do not think was accurate at all. It implied --I don't know what you read into it as far as that goes--I don't know--it has been so long since I ever thought about the Kensington book it is hard for me to reconstruct this in

> my mind, but I felt something was missed then in terms of what we were trying to do. That made me feel like, hey, Lou never did really understand. I remember you said something in the book about the initial conversation that you and I had, I think it was at a restaurant maybe, and from that I thought, hey, you did understand, but then the rest of the book seemed like that was kind of missing.

If the essence of Kensington had been missed and therefore the major portion of Shelby's effort had been misunderstood, how did Shelby characterize the school and his leadership role? The interview traced a circuitous route to seek answers to this question. Shelby responded with rather abstract analyses, and at certain times raised amazingly concrete and detailed examples to anchor his analysis. The results provide some clues as to the difficulty staff members may have had in determining precisely where Shelby stood or what he intended. This interview was held in Shelby's home with a lovely view of a backyard sloping off to a river. In the yard was a bird feeder which Shelby had described as attracting a wide range of birds to feed and amuse. This setting is needed to help interpret a portion of the interview. There were three specific instances in the interview with Shelby which provided insights into Shelby's self assessment as a principal and as an educational leader. The first illustration related back to Shelby's concern that the original book had missed the real significance of the effort of his administration and staff in attempting to build Kensington. When pushed for the real meaning of the Kensington philosophy Shelby responded with a story regarding an individual who had begun working in the district at the very beginning of Kensington's development. The individual was an extremely shy, withdrawn person who could not make eye contact even during a one hour interview. After serving as an assistant in the district for approximately a year this person's entire demeanor had changed, as Shelby recalled it, to one of being much more outgoing, confident, and competent. Without disputing the accuracy of this recounting it was clear to Shelby that the school system and its program was responsible for this personality change. It appeared to Shelby to be the consummate example to clearly demonstrate what the school was attempting and what in fact it had accomplished.

A second illustration involved a point Shelby raised in the second day's interview:

> ES: There are a couple of things that I wonder if I can talk about, kind of related to our things of yesterday?
>
> LMS: Sure, let me just identify this tape. This is Tape 5, Shelby, Paul, and I are gathered, it is 8:39 in the morning and we are picking up on our conversation from yesterday and Shelby has a couple of points that he wanted to make to clarify things.
>
> ES: Well, they weren't really to clarify things, but just some points of interest to me. One has to do with a question that I've always had. We spent a lot of time trying to select a very special staff at Kensington, and never really knew to what extent we were successful in securing a particular type, a particular quality of faculty. One thing we all found after we got into it, is that none of us knew how to do what we were trying to do. I always had the feeling that, by and large, we got some degree of commitment to a particular philosophy, maybe, but more than some common philosophy. Although that certainly, I think, was not universal by any means. I think we got very different philosophies there. I suspect that as much as anything else we had more commitment to a particular idea or approach, a commitment to try and make something work. But, be that as it may, I have tried to compare that particular experience with others that I have had since then, and in particular the one I have now at my present school. I have invited people to call me Eugene; they never have. Now at Kensington they did. I tried to analyze why, what is the difference. Well, of course, one thing is the age difference. When I was at Kensington I was younger so it might have been easier to call me by my first name. But it is just kind of a puzzle to me.

> There were some things we would do at Kensington that just seemed like they worked so easily. And well, I thought we could try other things. The teachers just could not make it work at the school where I am now. I just could not sell the idea of something like that. Such as the resource model that we had for John Taylor (P.E. teacher) where he worked with kids. It was not just a matter of assigning classes to ship them off to the gym where the objective was to spend 30 minutes away from the homeroom. I guess I call it mechanical decision making, that, you know, if you have a block of time, and you have an hour and a half and if you have three classes, you know, it is very clear that you divide the hour and a half into three half-hour blocks, and you divide the kids into thirds and, you know, just quantitative decision-making, if you will. But for years, the teachers in the school where I am now could not make it work. They never could make it work, and there are some other things, probably simpler, that I can't think of as an example right now, but I have been surprised or I have been unable to analyze why the very different reaction of teachers to a particular approach, or idea, and it raises questions about, you know, what created those differences? Was it really a difference in the people, the type of people that we selected, or was it the way they were involved, or was it the way they were inducted? Or was it the fact that here I came in new, and there I was already in the school district and they came in new? How do you account for that kind of stuff? I think it is an interesting question.

The third illustration is a response to questioning regarding Shelby's search for the Holy Grail. This was a reference in Anatomy, the original book on Kensington, which described in the authors' view, Shelby's search for the Holy Grail. Several times in the interview Shelby had referred to this and had acknowedged that it was a reasonable description of his search and his attempt to follow the shifting trail throughout his personal and professional career. Again, the example is a very clear one and yet one is left with some confusion as to the point being made:

> PFK: I guess I wanted to pick up what you had mentioned several times before. You mentioned the Holy Grail, how it shifted, and you said you finally gave up on it.

ES: Maybe I found it (laughter).

PFK: Well, go ahead, has it shifted over time, or is it as simple as saving you finally gave up on it.

ES: Well, I read an article in a journal--this is after Kensington--I think it was while I was working here and trying to help principals find the Holy Grail too. But this article was on change, it was talking about back when they were using oil lamps, that someone invented a better wick, somebody improved the fuel, so it might improve this or that. But it was still a very different matter when they invented the incandescent lamp, which was a totally different kind of lamp. I guess what that illustrates really is I think there is a term, incremental change, as opposed to quantum change or the big leap or whatever. And I really believed, and I still do, that there is a need for--well, a revolution, as opposed to evolution another way you might say it--but some basic changes in the whole fabric of the way schools operate. Now I really believed that and I still believe that. Now that is my Holy Grail.

PFK: So it is still there?

ES: But at the same time I recognize that there is such a thing as creating better wicks and better fuels, and that you can have some traditional schools that are good or some, you know, that are better than others, and that maybe the best we can hope for is the incremental improvements.

PFK: But that you see is sort of a realistic appraisal rather than a change in basic values.

ES: I'm learning how to be satisfied with it I suppose.

PFK: A half loaf?

ES: Yeah, and just feel that, you know, you are accomplishing something even when you just run a good school. But the crazy thing is that I don't even run the school anymore, the assistant principal does. Of course, I had a lot to do with getting her. But when I come to work I'm usually late, I never get here early. I stay here pretty late most of the time, but after just really striving to get the school off the ground, it's really strange to see. It leaves me feeling almost uneasy you know, but...

LMS: It runs itself in effect?

ES: Yeah, and the paperwork that I don't get done doesn't seem to hurt anything, so I will leave it long enough and--you see all these papers stacked up over there that I'm supposed to deal with? By this summer, when I finally get to go through them, it's amazing how many of them can go right in there without making any difference at all.

> LMS: The tape should indicate that he is pointing to the waste basket provided by public school funds. (Laughter)

While Shelby may have changed his work schedule and his degree of time commitment, at another level the vision of Kensington continues to burn brightly. When questioned regarding his current beliefs regarding educational ideologies Shelby responded as follows:

> ES: Let me put it a different way. Schools are still doing so many wrong things to young kids. It is unbelievable to me the many wrong things that we are doing to kids. And I am trying to do right things for kids. I know I have teachers who are doing some right things for kids, and I know I have some teachers who are doing some wrong things for kids, and I guess I'm more satisfied that, hey, I'm doing what needs to be done as much as I can, and I'm not worrying so much about trying to change the world--to be responsible for making sure the system changes for kids, and everyone else changes for kids. But there is no doubt in my mind that we are still doing so many wrong things to kids.

> PFK: But it is more a realization that regardless of what one does, you probably can't bring about that necessary big change. It is not that your ideals have changed, it's just more of a realization that we have all lost some of our youth and drive and we're not really happy to settle for a half loaf but we have? That is the choice that we have to make?

> ES: Look out the window! There is the female Painted Bunting. I wish the male bird would come, he is so pretty.

The segment illustrates the intensity of feeling regarding educational beliefs and yet the equally important attachment to a beautiful bird sitting on a perch. It was this quality which appears to contribute to the enigmatic quality of Eugene Shelby, then and now. The detached, aloof, somewhat dreamy quality remains as inscrutable as ever. Shelby candidly discussed with us his periods of drive and his periods of depression. He remained both open and unimposing and at the same time appeared determinedly to pursue a line of thought. Shelby appears to be as commited to holistic education as he had previously. And his disarming simplicity can be positively charming. At one point in the interview he pointed to a plaque with a bronze inscription which had been given to him by the faculty when leaving Kensington many years before. He used it to illustrate a point as follows:

> ES: The thing that really bothers me with all this MBO (Management By Objectives) kind of crap, is that they forget about the affective side of an objective...At Kensington I was given the plaque you see over there with the beautiful inscription. It reads, "To Eugene, without whose inspiration and leadership our Kensington program would not have been a reality." Now I'll show that to people, or I used to, and would say, "Now what do you think in there is the most meaningful single word?" They would usually say "inspiration" or "leadership." "No," I would say, "It's the word 'ours'". It is affective; the Kensington staff claimed ownership in the school. They bought into it.

The peak experience of his life, which he readily admitted had been when he was at the helm of the Kensington School, was often summarized by Shelby in short, earthy vignettes as the one cited above. He seemingly sought no material advantage from his exposure in the school nor did he wish to use it as a stepping stone elsewhere. His aloofness had been described and attributed to various motives. The complexity of the man seems to match the myriad perceptions of his co-workers.

## 2.53 Charisma Lies in the Eyes of the Charismatics

The perceptions of Shelby were nearly as varied as the faculty members themselves. Each seemed to need a different drummer in his/her attempt to march in the Kensington parade. Each needed to believe and to hope that someone would emerge to lead the isolated individuals and to orchestrate the effort. Some individuals wanted the possible; a statement of mission and purpose and a reasonable route to get there. Others wanted the impossible; total freedom to live out an educational dream and firm guidance to lead each one to the promised land. Still others were passing through and wanted to grow from the experience without any real expectations for leadership or non-leadership. Each of these conflicting demands was imposed upon a man who was in a highly transitional phase of his personal and professional life. At one and the same time he sought nurturance and self-fulfillment. He had caught a slimpse of what education could be and was struggling to make it happen. At some points he grasped, more clearly than any, the substance of the dream, but lacked an understanding of the form. At other times he had ideas about the process and was confused about the product. He was a seeker and yet gave appearances of having found it. To some, the seeking quality was an asset and to others a liability. To some, the deceptively firm grasp of the dream was a great source of comfort and to others it appeared to be a hidden agenda or "Institutional Plan" which seemed to emerge anddissolve on the Kensington screen. More than perhaps anyone knew, Shelby was honest, naive, and innocent--he wanted to build a better school for boys and girls but didn't know how. At one level, this admission and perception by some was an exciting premise upon which to foment an educational revolution. From another point of view, this was a hell of a way to build a school. Upon these disparate perceptions rests the case of Eugene Shelby and the Enigma of Leadership. Perhaps the study of leadership once again is missing the point. Leadership makes no sense without followership. It is exhilarating to contemplate what might have been. Suppose the faculty had been carefully screened to include only those who sought to build an oasis in the educational desert without regard for convention. Suppose only those who had a glimpse of Shelby's heaven would have been invited to participate in the journey. Suppose....

## 2.6 Conclusion

Each of these enigmas, as outcomes of our research, represents a set of problems for the next round of inquiry. None is totally new. None is totally "solvable" nor totally in the given or "must be lived with" category. Our research, the conversations we had with the original Milford/Kensington faculty, has caused us to think much more extensively about the domain of educational innovation, the place of life histories in that domain, the nature of the good society and the school as a microcosm of that society in relation to innovation, the issues and limits of deviancy and diversity in innovative schools, and finally the puzzlements of charisma and leadership in innovation. Such issues have been an agenda in western society for a long time.

## 3. TOWARD A CONCLUSION: WAS KENSINGTON A SUCCESS?

After posing our series of enigmas it seems anticlimactic to raise the issue of Kensington's success or failure. It also seems an overly simple move toward a conclusion. But, then parents, patrons, teachers, administrators, and other educationists almost always pose the issues this way at some point in any discussion we have ever had about the school.

### 3.1 The Concept of Success

In trying to think our way through the concept of success, one of the most helpful analyses was Goodwin Watson's (1964) account of the New College experience, Columbia College's innovative teacher training program from the 1930's.[2] In his characteristic incisive style he analyzes several conceptions of success which are only partially overlapping and congruent. They are: 1) imitation and spread of the ideas; 2) survival or duration of a project or program; 3) residues or remaining pieces or parts of the program; and 4) the quality of the experience in the lives of the participants at the time. Each of those conceptions, it seems to us, can be analyzed further into which pieces, parts or strands with different implications for different individuals, subgroups or units with the totality. But, in his words, his comments, first of all:

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[2] Once again we acknowledge our debt to our colleague Professor William Connor, one of the New College participants, who reminded us of Watson's work and put us on to other aspects of the experience, including his copy of We Asked the Mole.

> Founders of Utopias anticipate that their demonstration will be imitated. Founders of experimental schools see their project as the first of many. These hopes are almost never fulfilled. The experiment usually stands along. (p. 113)

Secondly:

> Three kinds of influence from New College live on. One is the lives and memories of those who were part of the experiment. The little book, We Asked the Mole, designed to recall in pictures and unusual captions the exciting days spent at New College, may strike a critical reader now as "sentimental mush," but it has powerful emotional value for those who lived in the experience. A second influence comes from articles and pamphlets written by New College faculty members during the experiment; something like a hundred of these have been reported. The third type of influence is most difficult to measure--it is the adoption here and there, in bits and pieces, of some of the features of the model. These residues are hard to locate and are seldom clearly connected with New College. There are colleges today with individualized methods, guidance programs, travel opportunities, work experience, close tutorial association between faculty and students--but might they not have grown up in these patterns even if New College had never existed? (p. 114)

Finally, he raises a major criterion which seemed to be one to which many of the Kensington faculty resonated:

> In retrospect, it seems to the write that New College, like other projections of the creative human spirit, should be evaluated not so much by its persistence over time as by the vitality of the enterprise when it was under way. New College was a great educational experiment, not because of its duration or its residues, but because in it, if only for a brief time, students and teachers became truly inspired and dedicated. They experienced life together at a spiritual elevation rarely achieved in ordinary college studies. The losing battle to save New College was probably, for many of those engaged in it, the high point of their educational curriculum --and quite possibly the most memorable event of their lives.
>
> Hence, the appropriate sequel to New College will not be any imitation of what was tried there in the 1930's; it will be the launching of another and quite different innovation, born of the spirit of a new age, but able again to challenge the participants to heights of adventurous experience far transcending the ordinary curriculum and the cautious little reforms. (pp. 114-115)

In our view each of these concepts of success must be analyzed further. Survival and duration are both separate and interrelated. At Kensington, a school survived and continues until today. Yet as we noted in Kensington Today, in Volume IV of our study, almost every dimension or facet of the school is different, in one or more ways—the building, the administration, the faculty, the program, and the clientele, both parents and pupils. Only in some historical instances, as with New College, is the experiment totally gone. The three kinds of "residues" mentioned by Watson have their counterparts in Kensington. In effect, this report is a tracing out of the first kind of residue, "the lives and memories of those who were a part of the experiment." The second kind of residue, "articles and pamphlets" has occurred probably most directly because we, the researchers, were there and wrote an OE final report and a book which have been read by a variety of practitioners and academics. Several of the participants, especially Jerl Cohen, have written about ideas directly and indirectly related to the experience. The third kind of residue has found its parallels in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, especially Title III, and the groups and networks of prominent educators with whom Milford and Kensington staff, e.g. Spanman and Cohen especially, were associated. They were parts of national networks of educators involved in multiple ways, at multiple levels in that effort. In the 1980's, the appearance of political change with the Reagan administration suggests an alternative valuing of such institutions as the Department of Education, the National Institute of Education, ESEA, and other federal education efforts. Our point seems simple--schools, programs, and ideas are linked to very basic political beliefs and values. These beliefs are held by different percentages of the citizenry at different points in history. One period's success is another period's mistake, if not failure.

But the criterion raised by Watson which has fascinated us and which has appeared in our interview protocol without any special provocation on our part is the one caught in the phrase, "...New College, like other projections of the creative human spirit, should be evaluated not so much by its persistence over time as by the vitality of the enterprise when it was underway." Even this breaks down into subgroups --administrators, teachers, pupils, parents, or into specific individuals for whom "vitality" has different readings.

A further criterion of success not mentioned by Watson seems important. Did New College meet its own central goals--educating creative teachers, however defined? In Kensington's instance, did the schools give the youngsters a "good elementary education", again, however defined? This brings us full circle for in Professor Connor's recollection one of the similarities in Kensington's male teachers and the New College group is that most went on for higher degrees and moved out of elementary and secondary teaching. In that more structured sense, New College was not successful, however a larger construal of "Education" suggests that large numbers had provocative careers in college and university teaching and administration. Our focus, both in the initial study, Anatomy of Educational Innovation and in the current study has been on the adult faculty life in the Kensington School and the Milford School District. The careers and life histories of the faculty and administrators indicate a fascinating professional existence. The concern for pupil learning and development remained outside our agenda, and we presented only tangential comments regarding such a criterion.

## 3.2 What Was Kensington After All

### 3.21 The Kensington Experience: For Kay Abbot

As we have indicated, more than any other question we have been asked, Was Kensington a Success? tops the list. At a minimum, an answer to that question requires a statement to a prior question, "What was Kensington after all?" Secondly it requires an analysis of that deceptively simple and offhandedly used concept of "success." Attending to these seems an appropriate continuation of a conclusion.

It is helpful to capture again, the nature of the experience. Kay Abbot, who had returned home, married, had two children, and found a place in the community, commented in these ways. First, it seemed to involve a major decision:

> PFK: We are back after a delicious and intellectually stimulating lunch with Kay. I think we covered corn beef and the political world. I would like to ask you if you would, to reflect on whatever has emerged or emerges right now, this minute, regarding Kensington. How do you think about that experience? Choose any terms you wish.
>
> Kay A: That is a real good question. Oh, I think it was very stimulating. I think it was a tremendous learning experience. I guess if I had the opportunity to live that portion of my life again, and make a decision, I guess I would make the same decision. I don't know really how to take a tack and go beyond that in any one area. If you are looking for an overview I guess that is it.
>
> PFK: So it was a pleasant experience, exciting, and one that you said you would repeat.

Second, there was an accent on individualism, at the price of cooperation. In her eyes, the initial T group experience fostered that and also interpersonal conflict:

> KA: I think that the T groups as a starting point were far too extensive. I think that type of experience could have been more project oriented rather than people or personal. It seemed like it almost served a dysfunction because whereas I think the idea was trying to get them to blend and to meld together more, what in essence it did was to accentuate individual differences, and it not only accentuated the individual differences, but it seemed to give reinforcement to the idea of doing your own thing. I think there was, as a result, not as much emphasis on cooperation, as there could have been initially. There was and there wasn't. I don't think I'm expressing that quite right. If you can kind of interpolate from what I am saying. But you got involved in this whole personality. A situation that I think became a negative one. As I recall there was this big blow up early in a situation, and it seems to me, it was kind of a reflection of that.

Third, a commitment developed:

> KA: And I think it was an absolute incredible commitment, as I look back, a commitment of the number of people. I think about the weekends that we spent, and the meetings at night. Then I look at my experience after that, and teachers that I have met, and I think I just marvel at how it was possible to get that level of commitment. It was just phenomenal. Part of it, I think, was due to just the excitement of the whole affair. That was just tremendous. I don't know how you would get people that were involved in a family situation to become as committed to a situation like that, unless you had as many young people. They moved into that area, and they didn't have families, they didn't have other community affairs that they were involved in. So you had this total commitment to the school.

Fourth, a special dimension seemed a consequence, which had some liabilities:

> PFK: Plus it filled to some extent the social needs, almost the entire life for almost half of the faculty?

> KA: That is right. I'm not so sure that that is real healthy in retrospect. I think a more balanced life style may make a better teacher.

Fifth, idealism, an eye to possibilities, potentialities, hopes, seemed to run afoul of a lack of realism, the near, the specific, the concrete:

> KA: I think that if I were just looking in as a person on the outside organizing it, I think one of the weakest links in the whole situation was that I think we needed more direction. Not just a kind of philosophy but I think what really broke down as I recall things right, was, sort of, we had this idealistic notion but there was nobody there, save one person finally came in and started filling this gap, who really was...
>
> (change of tape)
>
> PFK: Kind of a directional need at the time, and some of the lack of people who could translate ideas and implement them into practice, I think is close to where you were?
>
> KA: Yes, I think we were all idealistic and all philosophically attuned, but nobody really came to grips with the idea of how do you take this idea and this group of kids and meld them. I think there is far too much blasé feeling, you know, whatever you think will work seemed to be reinforced as being acceptable. I think that that wasn't really beneficial. It would have been, I think, more beneficial to me, even if it meant moving somewhat more slowly, which may have helped too, to make the children more prepared. It was too much, too soon, too non practical ways of thinking.

These intertwining dilemmas found their prototype in ISD, the Independent Study Division:

> PFK: Again, the devils advocate position on that, is that would have taken away a lot of the excitement and the thrill for it. It seems to me it is hard to...
>
> KA: Sure, but if you can understand at all, I'm sure you probably remember better than I can. I haven't thought about it for a long time. It seems to me that particularly in the upper unit, which I was involved, there were quite a series of changes in the first several months, and the level of

> frustration of teachers trying to sort through and try to make something work. I don't think this was beneficial. I think it would have been helpful had we more of a--more direction. Even if it meant compromising to some extent. I think you would have had happier teachers. I think that upper unit was the one that worked least well. Probably was closer to the philosophy of the school, but you know, I think it could have worked a lot better had there been...
>
> PFK: That is an interesting point. You are talking about the Independent Study Division may have more closely epitomized the philosophy, yet it--you were suggesting that it worked least well. By least well, what is your reference to that? Feeling that your group never solidified as well? Why do you have that impression?
>
> KA: We went through, it seems to me off the top of my head, a half a dozen changes until basically we compromised after Christmas. It was just that I didn't think it was particularly a good one. I think it could have been better, had, things really were kind of vague, a more logical sequence. I think that we moved where we did really out of desperation. In fact going back to something that worked. I didn't like this idea to tell you the truth, about the kind of little almost self-contained groups trying to work within the larger division in a school that certainly wasn't set up for that. But I think you need to take teachers, and you need to take children from where they are, and move them in the direction that you want to go.

As we fumbled a bit in trying to tackle the ends and means issues in innovation, Kay Abbot made a telling point about motivation in her theory of elementary education:

> KA: It seems almost to be a--such a broad question that I don't know where to start and where to really go with that. I don't know if this exactly relates, but what is coming into my head is that I spent a number of years at the innovative school that my children went to first. Becoming more and more aware as a parent about the problems inherent in the system. Basically what they were doing which was similar to what was happening at Kensington, particularly at that stage, X, or whatever. There was a great deal of subdividing of children and passing them around to various teachers. There was a great deal of responsibility placed on children to be, you know, to know where they were supposed to be at a particular time, and take the responsibility for their own education. As a parent, I find that that really does not work well. I think that you need to have a teacher, maybe what I

> am saying basically is you should minimize the number of exposures to children. I think unless a teacher knows the personality of the child, knows that child enough to know the personality, that that teacher has no notion of how to motivate that child. I guess I think motivation comes more, and that is part of my philosophy, motivation seems to come more from the personality than from the subject matter. I think at Kensington and at the school in Hoganstown, the motivation seemed to want to come from subject matter. The teachers did not know the children. I'm thinking particularly of one teacher that my child had. She had my child probably half the day for a number of sectors, but that teacher so knew my little child that she was able to help that child just soar in terms of intellectual involvement. But that came not from the subject, from the kid's personality. I think that was sort of a place maybe I really--I hadn't come to grips with at Kensington. I have spent a lot of time thinking about that afterward. I think that is extremely important.

Her point is tied to a devastating illustration, her inability to remember any child's name. That, then, brings the team teaching element into scrutiny:

> KA: I think about some of the kids that I had at Kensington, and, you know, it is funny but at this point I can't remember a single name. I can remember the names of kids that I had had the year before I taught at Kensington. That was when I was involved in a four teacher team with 90 kids or so. I bet you I could tell you 30 names.
>
> PFK: That is interesting.
>
> KA: And I...
>
> PFK: None of the Kensington individuals?
>
> KA: I can't remember a single child's name. But I knew these kids, those 100 kids, I really felt as though I knew them. Maybe the Independent Study Division, I don't remember how many kids we had. It seemed to me pushing 200, although I could be wrong.
>
> PFK: I think you are close. It seems to me the entire student/teacher ratio worked out to about 30-1. I think you must have had seven, I believe you had seven staff. So I think you probably had about 200-210.

> KA: I think that is too many kids. Maybe as I look back in retrospect that with people to make that personal, the Transition Division seemed a more workable number.
>
> PFK: There would be 90 kids for three teachers.
>
> KA: I would still go if I were organizing something with the teaming of teachers in some kind of a situation. I think the optimum number—I think somewhere between three-four is the more workable situation.

The discussion moved to experience and inexperience among the staff:

> PFK: Would you have gone about a different way of selecting staff, not talking about individuals, but I think you said explicitly it was a very young, inexperienced staff. Would you change some things about the way in which staff would be brought together?
>
> KA: No, I think that I certainly would have a melding of experienced and inexperienced people. I think the experienced people were not particularly well used. I think whenever you do a situation where you marry experienced and inexperienced I think you don't want to separate the experienced from this group and the inexperienced from that group. It seems to me that is not the best use of talents. I would have, I think, broken it down, so that if, for example, you have four people in a sub grouping that you would have had two with experience and without experience. Hopefully four people having different areas of expertise, and differences of opinions, skills and strengths.

Kay raised a brief point about "caring":

> KA: It was exciting. It was just exciting to be around people who were really--who really cared.

The caring aspect seemed related, an antecedent, to the quality of educational talk. Kay continued to run a comparison between the school her children attended and her recollections of Kensington:

> KA: I've found a recent thing that my kids' school is involved in. I was helping out there, which is not a super deal, except that it takes a lot of time sitting there, working. Well,

> anyway I would spend I guess the better part of two days sitting in the teachers lounge. And that was a kind of an education experience for me. Just listening to the chatter. I think it is the right word. But it was really pretty much nothingness, as compared to what I experienced at Kensington. The level in the air, you know, it was electric down there, where it was in comparison almost corpse-like here. They went through the day just like you barely existed, and barely caring. Most people. That is not the kind of people that we had down there.

In the interviews, as we concluded one set of questions and summed up the dilemma between teacher control, autonomy, or efficacy on the one hand and administrative control and bureaucratic procedures, we (Paul) commented:

> PFK: Partly again it is often the weaknesses and strengths and vice versa. You talked before about the kind of lack of central direction. The good side of that was every teacher I think at Kensington felt he or she could control what happened in the classroom. There were no curriculum guides. There was no curriculum coordinator breathing down, and that is pretty heady stuff. That gave you something to talk and argue about. Because if you are still tied to the district workbook regardless of all the interesting discussions over coffee you don't go through that motion very long. If you think you can make a difference in what happens tomorrow, or next week or this afternoon you are going to get in there and argue. I think that was one of the nice qualities about the non-directionality. Because you knew darn good and well that what you argued about today might well wind up happening tomorrow. So you better get your feet in or you are going to get stuck with the consequences. And that is kind of neat. It would be kind of nice to have that. Teachers in a sense, have lost control to a very real extent over what they teach. I think that has happened because of the largeness of the school,, and the centralization, curriculum committees, and adoption of text. Maybe just a value judgment on my part?
>
> KA: I certainly see that same thing.

Kay's response to the success or failure of Kensington, came as a summary of her prior comments:

> KA: I think there is a lot to be said about the school. I feel that as though that is not lost in terms of educational theory today. I think that is still going on. I think there were a lot of successes, precisely what we were talking about. What can happen with that staff if given some decision making power. I think in terms of my own personal reaction, I think that it was a success, because, I guess what I'm saying is I would repeat it. There are some things that I think failed about it. I think they failed in the way I said before, that middle step between philosophy and implementation. I think there was not enough direction, in that area, and I think the children were somewhat unequipped for it, and I think more could have been done along those lines. So I think that is why I would come down. So, you know, it is that way and I have been given certain situations that would work, and I think it is the way to go.

## 3.22 Other, Briefer Views

Shelby's "mountain top experiences", the highs, the coming together of multiple strands and parts of one's life suggests a linkage between Goodwin Watson's (1964) conceptions of success of innovations lying in "the vitality of the enterprise when it was underway" and "if only for a brief time, students and teachers became truly inspired and dedicated", and Abraham Maslow's (1968) cognition of being in the peak-experiences." Self actualization has been attained.

In Claire Nelson's mind there was no question about Kensington's "success":

> PFK: Okay, if I could shift just a bit, and we'll spend more time about it later, but I'd just kind of like to get an initial reaction before we break and go to dinner maybe and so on--and that is, your thinking, your thoughts about Kensington in retrospect, in just the most global terms. I'll use the jarring words of Success or Failure. How do you think of Kensington after two years of rather sweat and blood and tears and then ending rather explosively? How would you think of the experience?
>
> CN: For me?

PFK: For you.

CN: It was extremely positive. It was a Success. It was probably the hardest work, the most intense hours, everything we did was intense. Everything we talked about, everything that happened to us was really a thing of high level involvement. We lived together. Probably because so many of us had come from out of town, we didn't have local friends. We were our friends as well as our colleagues and no matter when we'd get together, even if it was to play bridge, would lead into talking school because that was the central thing we had in common. And we planned spontaneously a lot of times or you'd analyze something just because you'd happen to be together. We were together a lot and I've never had an experience like that since and I treasure it and I really value it and I guess I know that it has invaded my whole life.

With a variety of probes we pulled other retrospective views of the Kensington experience:

PFK: You mentioned Kensington as a commitment--what about--are there some pieces that had those not been there that the entire experience would have been different or could have Kensington have really taken just about any turn? If it's described as a commitment then this group could have created a traditional or innovative or self contained or it could have taken lots of other--are there some absolute ingredients that were necessary?

Sue N: Oh, the--yeah, the commitment was to an open education, to a team effort, to a faculty and student sharing, to--I mean, it was Utopian, it really--it was a Utopian school.

LMS: Where did that come from?

SN: Well, I brought it with me, I wouldn't have been there otherwise. I wouldn't have gone to a traditional program at that point in my life. David brought it with him. Eugene certainly gave, you know, that was this togetherness, Spanman, to lesser degrees other teachers in the group. I think probably I was the most--David and I were probably the most unrealistic of, about what it actually was all about--but it was strange.

LMS: Where did the Utopian notions come from in your own background? What sorts of, you know, was it kind of an emotional Utopianism from things you didn't like in your own experience? You mentioned that, or was it a Utopianism of somebody you'd read or thought about that way or...?

SN: Well, it certainly wasn't anyone I had read in education 'cause not only had I not taken any courses in education, I'd not read anything on education. I knew nothing as far as book learning or practical learning, this was simply--and if I had my druthers, how would I believe the elementary education should be done. And I had very strong feelings that it should be an extension of the family, the natural, you know, the learning process of the child up until he goes to school should be continued in the school. I'd never--didn't know anything about Montessori, I mean, I heard none of this, I didn't know any of that until I got to City University the second time, I don't think, really a lot of it. It was just, you know, only from my head as far as applying it to education was concerned.

PFK: As you think and talk about the idea of Kensington, what are some of those pieces? How would you explicate the idea of Kensington?

SN: It was a commitment, it was definitely a commitment, almost a way of life at that time and then my--as I felt at that time, we weren't just a group of people who happened to be teaching in the same building. We were an integral part of each other and we were suppose--we should have been--'cause there were conflicts and cracks all along.

LMS: In the reality?

SN: In the reality as opposed to the image of what I felt and then we four in Basic Skills just continued that among ourselves and we certainly represented a very diverse bunch of people when you think of what our experience had been, what our goals in life were, and yet we were very supportive of one another.

PFK: As you think about it now, do you—would you use--how would you describe the experience, the experiment? Was Kensington a failure? Was it a total success? Was it--how do you describe that--the Kensington experiment?

SN: Briefly, within a very, very constrained period of time, it was a success.

PFK: By briefly...?

SN: Within the context of that time when it was actually working, I think a lot of it was successful. There were a lot of--it wasn't Utopia, it was nowhere near perfect, but there were so many good things that happened between people of all ages, small ones, big ones, grown-ups, kids--but it wasn't self-sustaining. It didn't continue, it--as far--you know, I really feel it was something that happened for a year that lingered for a second year and then gradually...

> PFK: But the product itself was positive? See, you can separate out the this was an incredibly enriching experience to go through with colleagues but that what happened to the children may not have been. How would you have felt about your daughter's having spent a year in say, you...
>
> SN: I would give anything to have her right now in Basic Skills--not necessarily with me.

In the interview with Mary Radford, who had crossed the country and found Vista School, a Kensington-like school, the same kind of reaction, as to many of the others, occurs:

> PFK: When you were there, the question we usually ask at this point is some people look back on that and would judge that as a failure, the school, spend a year or two and just simply exploded, another idea that went boom in the night. What's your reaction to that? How do you view it? Failure, success...?
>
> Mary R: Well, if everybody left maybe they think it was a failure. I don't really think it was a failure. You know, I guess a lot of things--there were a lot of misunderstanding probably about what was supposed to be done and how it was to be done and if you don't have the support, you know, from the people around you, the neighborhood and so forth, I guess you might think it's a failure, I don't know. I didn't feel like it was a failure.
>
> PFK: But personally you didn't feel--look back with any regrets of having been a part of it?
>
> MR: No.
>
> PFK: Or any regrets that the school should have done something different or harm was done to children, any such feelings at all?
>
> MR: No.
>
> PFK: Still good feelings as you look back on it?
>
> MR: Yeah--maybe I've forgotten a lot but I...
>
> PFK: No, I'm not trying to lead you...
>
> MR: No, I know, I'm really trying to think--no I really don't. I felt it was a rich, a very rich--I felt like you,

this year, you know, that it was really a crueling year but a good experience, I learned a lot from it and I'll never regret that, you know. And I didn't regret my time in there, I really enjoyed it. I remember the children and the span we had, you know, with two grades, you can imagine the great span we had from immaturity to quite sophisticated second graders.

PFK: Would you say it was one of the peak educational experiences you've had or maybe ask it in another way--what were some of the significant years that stick out in your mind?

MR: Oh, that was.

PFK: That was it?

MR: It really was, yeah, I think it laid the ground work for probably everything I've done since.

PFK: You're motioning over to Cathy--why would...?

Cathy G: Well, we've worked so closely.

MR: She knows pretty well.

CG: I think it probably had a tremendous influence on her life.

PFK: Has she talked about it?

CG: Yes, she talked about, particularly about teachers that she worked with but I think just, not only the physical set up. But I think it's what it's given Mary, among many qualities, is flexibility of people, children, and I think it's also made her want to inquire and look to as many varied experiences for children. She doesn't see things in a very set closed way, even in kindergarten, you know. She latches on to not new ideas meaning, like I'll try this and I'll try that but she's eclectic because she knows that there are a lot of things out there, and whatever it is if that will work with that child or those children then she's willing to put the time and effort in seeking out those kinds of ideas and I think definitely that had an effect on her.

We began this section with a question of Kensington's success. The concept of success, as we followed Watson's analysis, is multifaceted or has multi referents. The items that kept appearing in the words of the faculty coalesced mostly around the affective quality of personal experience at the time. Those that sought further justification for that set of values tended to sketch out consequences upon their later teaching and administering. It became a "teacher training" experience which gave them images, skills, confidence for later professional activities. Professional activities that were better because of the Kensington experience.

## 3.3 Conclusion

The literature on education and schooling, not to mention the more informal conversation of parents, teachers, and administrators, is full of value laden concepts posing as objective scientific terms or posing as intuitively clear, common sense labels. "Competency", "effectiveness", "good program", "important experience" are just a few of these. The one that has plagued us more than any other in our consideration of Kensington is the word "success." As a question, it would come in one of multiple variations of "Do you think the Kensington School was a success?" In part we didn't like being crowded that way, that is toward a simple "Yes" or "No." It seemed that we would argue "No, but ..." with our liberal friends and "Yes, but..." with our conservative friends. The "if's", "but's", and "it depends" we believe involves one in a complex empirical, conceptual, and valuational process.[3] If we were philosophers we would probably speak of "unpacking" the term. As social scientists and educationists we are trying to make sense of a cloudy concept which is fundamental to a discussion of innovation and change in American education. Such clarification we believe is one of the most important outcomes of our research.

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[3] For an earlier attempt see "Effective teaching: a qualitative inquiry in aesthetic education." (Smith, 1977). One of the clearest, brief accounts of a similar argument is (Codd, 1982).

In this final section we explored the concept of success and the question of Kensington's success in the retrospective recollection of several key actors from the Kensington drama. In part this became our final set of images, our attempt at a Roshomon (Kurosawa, 1969) or an Alexandria Quartet (Durrell, 1960). But beyond the clear and provocative image that readers can use for their own purposes, we have clarified, for ourselves, the concept of "success", its nature and place in educational theory and inquiry.

## 4. A FINAL WORD

In his provocative little book, The Sociology of Educational Innovation, Whiteside comments:

> Unfortunately a major omission of the Kensington study is any detailed data on the staff leaving the project, their aspirations and plans for the future. (1978, pp. 74-75)

In a fundamental sense, our follow-up of the Kensington and Milford staff might be seen as a response to the "omission" noted by commentators such as Whiteside. The lives of the staff seemed to pattern in important ways. Our interpretive concern for the multiple aspects of careers and belief systems has broadened the discussion well beyond the domain of "aspirations and plans." Further, our study of life histories and biographies has raised for us major issues in social science research, theory, and practice.

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